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JAPAN IN WORLD POLITICS



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JAPAN IN WORLD POLITICS

A STUDY IN INTERNATIONAL DYNAMICS

BY

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PREFACE

IN a former book ¹ I gave an outline of the national evolution of Japan since it came into contact with Western civilisation about the middle of last century, and also indicated the forces which had been at work in bringing about what is admitted to be the political wonder of the latter half of the nineteenth century, namely, the rise of Japan as a World-Power. The immediate occasion for its appearance was the outbreak of war between Japan and Russia, and it was intended to give the people of Europe and America a fairly complete account of the new Power which had arisen in the Far East.

It is a fact that discussions on social, economic, or political subjects are apt to be idle, unfruitful, and certainly tiresome, unless they are connected with some live temporary issue, and the chief object of the present book is to consider some of the tendencies of the present time as illustrated by some of the important international problems which have resulted from the war between Japan and Russia as well as some of the wider aspects of the results of the economic and political development of Japan. The discussion of these subjects and the consideration of the problems involved will give the opportunity of testing, in a practical way, some of the opinions expressed in my former book, and of illustrating

¹ *Dai Nippon, The Britain of the East*, Blackie & Son, Ltd., London and Glasgow.

11-11-1913

the present transition stage of religion, psychology, science, art, and economics. The changes in these are so sudden as almost to indicate the end of an era in human thought and action.

A generation or more will have to elapse before the peoples of the West are able to estimate, in their true dimensions, the momentous results of the modern developments in Japan, and especially the striking object lessons of the Russo-Japanese War. Enough has, however, been witnessed, and to those who have eyes to see and brains to understand is daily being witnessed, to prove that the victories of the Britain of the East in the twentieth century mark as important an epoch in the history of the world as did those of the Britain of the West in the nineteenth century. My object now is to direct attention to some of the more important problems which have arisen in consequence of the change of conditions in the Far East.

It is now being recognised by statesmen and by students of sociology in the West that the changes which have taken place in Japan not only affect that country, but that they will have great influence on social and political conditions in the Far East generally, and directly or indirectly on all the commercial and industrial countries in the world, and especially on those in the Pacific area. The complete treatment, even of this single aspect, would take us into very long discussions on the various countries and their economic and political conditions. This book, however, is not meant for specialists who have at their command detailed information on the different subjects involved, but for those who wish to obtain a general idea of some of the world-problems which are now confronting those who are in positions to affect the destinies of the world. All, therefore, I have attempted is an introduction to the study of what may be

called the dynamics of world-politics which have their centre in Japan. As leading up to that, I have used some parts of my former work so that the historical connection of events may be followed. In order that the size of the book might be kept within the limits of a single volume, the historical and descriptive parts (the subjects of which were pretty fully discussed in my previous book) have been very much condensed, so that more space might be given to the international problems of current interest which are discussed in the last four chapters. That which treats of the "Civilisations of East and West" is a mere sketch of a vast subject, but it seemed to be necessary in order to show the fundamental basis on which a reconciliation and understanding of East and West is alone possible. Thoughtful men in many countries are recognising that the central problem of the future is the reconciliation of Western science and culture with Eastern modes of thought. All I have been able to do in this book is to direct attention to the subject.

Truly we live at a most interesting period in the history of the world, and it makes us wish to live long enough to witness the progress of the evolution. It is, however, something to have seen the dawn, though we may not enjoy the splendour of the noonday. It is absolutely necessary that the peoples of the West should show a more intelligent understanding of the problems of the East, not only as these affect international trade, but also international politics. It is to be hoped that the shock of national disaster will not be required to arouse their interest. Some of the international problems may not press for solution in our day, but wise statesmanship demands that their existence should be recognised, and the forces at work guided in directions which will lead to the welfare of the countries concerned. As a very thoughtful writer has remarked: "With Europe facing an

international discontent among its industrial peoples, the nations, as an armed camp, heaping up instruments of destruction, the East suddenly awake, the people in England and America writhing in the grasp of a money power more and more concentrated in the hands of enormous corporations, he would be but a blind prophet who, looking to the future, would assert that all things will continue as until now.”¹

My chief object, however, is of a distinctly practical nature. Many Western writers, and especially those of the daily press, do not hesitate to express the opinion that a world-wide struggle between East and West is inevitable, and they seem inclined to do their best to bring it about. Such a conclusion is a denial not only of the religion which we profess, but also of the value of our civilisation as a means of elevating the human race, and it is the duty of every one who has thought deeply on the problems involved to do all in his power to dispel such an opinion. For thirty-six years I have been in close touch with all the most important events in the Far East which have affected world conditions, and I hope I shall not be considered presumptuous when I express the decided opinion that if such a struggle takes place it will be brought about not so much by the development of the East as by the aggressive action of the West.

I have endeavoured to show not only the desirability but also the possibility of a reconciliation and a mutual understanding of the East and the West, and my efforts will not have been in vain if I have been successful in this, even in a very partial degree. Others, I hope, will take up the work as conditions develop, and strengthen the arguments I have used, and thus bring about an intelligent public

¹ Masterman, C. F. G., *The Condition of England*, p. 289.

opinion on the problems involved in world-politics, for it is that opinion which ultimately determines the nature of their solution. No man can undertake a more important work than that of doing something, however little, to promote the fraternity of nations and the abolition or diminution of standing armies, by the education of public opinion in the direction of peace. That opinion will find expression not only through the Press and the Parliaments of the various nations, but also through the organisation of Peace Congresses composed of representatives of all the countries concerned, who, in a friendly way, will discuss the problems which arise, and come to rational decisions with regard to them. While, however, this direct education should be earnestly pursued, it must not be forgotten that the ultimate solution of international problems will be reached only when an adequate idea has been formed of the meaning and object of life, both personal and national.

The wars of the past and the difficulties of the present time have, to a large extent, arisen from ignorance of the conditions involved, on the part not only of the individuals directly concerned, but also of the nations which they represented. The present conditions demand that we should think not only Imperially but also Internationally, for the work of the engineer has shrunk the world into small dimensions, and no change of any importance can take place in any country without affecting to a greater or less extent all the other countries of the world. Although Japan is the centre of the subject of this book, it is meant, in the first place, for the use of the peoples of the West, and in some parts I may have seemed to have wandered from my text. It is hoped, however, that such digressions will not be found its least interesting and useful parts.

The bibliography of the subjects touched upon is very

extensive, and I have not thought it necessary to overload its pages with the names of my authorities. During my long connection with the Far East I have received information and impressions from many sources which it is impossible to remember. For some years past many valuable and interesting articles on politics in the Far East have appeared in the magazines and leading newspapers, the most of which I have read, and from which I have received many ideas and facts. It is impossible to give more than a general recognition of this source of information. I have, however, given a selected list of books which will be useful to those who wish additional information, and in some of them they will find more complete lists should they wish to continue their studies still further.

H. D.

DOWANHILL, GLASGOW.

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CHAPTER I

MEETING OF THE FAR EAST AND THE WEST

BEFORE entering on the consideration of recent developments and present conditions in the Far East and on the study of the world-problems which have resulted from them, it will be convenient to glance at the circumstances which attended the meeting of the Far East, and especially of Japan and China, with the West, as a knowledge of these will help to explain much that has since occurred.

It would be very interesting to study the effect on world-politics, in different periods of the world's history, of the growth of geographical knowledge. We can scarcely realise how much the centre of magnitude of the world's power or of its industry or commerce has changed from East to West, from South to North, unless we form a clear idea of the successive additions which have been made to man's knowledge of the surface of the earth. This, however, is a very large subject, and meantime we can only give a brief sketch of a historical and geographical nature, which will be useful when we are considering the problems of the Pacific. The subjects are almost encyclopædic in extent, but their details can easily be obtained from other sources by those who are specially interested in them.

The Pacific
area.

From the times of Homer to those of Herodotus, scholars and merchants were gradually acquiring familiarity with a larger world, but we require to come down to the expeditions

of Xenophon and the conquests of Alexander before we find definite ideas with regard to the size of the world. Greece had looked eastward and Rome westward; Hindustan had been annexed on the one hand and the Spanish Peninsula on the other, but the world at the time of the Roman Consulate was essentially the world surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. The Roman was ignorant of the civilisations which had been established in North and South America, in Mexico and Peru. Of the teeming millions of China he had scarcely heard, while of the great countries of modern Europe—France, Germany, and Great Britain—he knew less than we now know of Central Africa. The advance of the Roman eagles added to the geographical knowledge of the day, while their decisive defeat later on led to a veil which shut out from Western and Southern Europe the vast countries to the north of Germany which we now know as Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The invasion of the Norsemen, however, brought home to every one the existence of the countries from which those hardy freebooters came, and their exploits led to great additions to the knowledge of the surface of the world.

In the thirteenth century Marco Polo set out from Italy to the court of Kublai Khan, and after a long residence in China returned home to enrich the world with the knowledge which he had acquired about the various countries which he had visited or heard about. Prince Henry, the navigator, attempted to find a way by sea to India, and in 1492 Columbus, setting out for the Indies, discovered America. Soon other seamen followed in his track, and both North and South America were gradually added to the known world, while Vasco de Gama, rounding the Cape of Good Hope, discovered a new route to the East; so that, in fact, the discoveries effected in the close of the fifteenth and in the opening of the sixteenth centuries make the previously known surface of the globe sink into insignificance. By the end of the sixteenth century something was known of every part of the habitable world except Australasia, and the dis-

covery of that was imminent. In the middle of the seventeenth century two Dutchmen, Van Dieman and Tasman, discovered Australia, or New Holland as it was at first called, but more than one hundred years elapsed before Captain Cook gave any accurate knowledge of the great Australasian territory, and it was only during last century that the coast-line of Australia was delineated in the maps with accuracy.

The information given by Marco Polo about the Malay Archipelago was very indefinite, and was evidently given more from hearsay than from personal knowledge. Java, as mentioned by him, is merely a name given to the whole archipelago, and Sumatra he calls Java Minor. He mentions Malacca as an island town with a flourishing trade. Two hundred years after the discovery of the Cape route the Portuguese, having already established themselves in Goa, and hearing of the great trade done in Malacca, fitted out a fleet to visit it, but they were repelled by the natives, returning, however, in two years' time, and capturing the city after a determined resistance in 1511. In 1521 they took possession of the Spice Islands. We shall mention their relations with Japan presently.

One of the members of the first Portuguese expedition, Magellan by name, transferred his services to the King of Spain, and he made many explorations in the Pacific, and added to the existing knowledge of the archipelago. In 1565 Legaspi landed in Luzon, and within six years conquered the whole archipelago, a feat in which he was greatly assisted by the Augustinian Fathers.

In 1595 the Dutch arrived on the scene, and landing first in Java, then in Sumatra, began to trade, and in 1602 the Dutch East India Company was founded and began to establish factories and settlements in all the islands. In 1642 and 1644, under the auspices of Van Dieman, the Governor-General of Java, Abel Tasman made two voyages, in which he discovered Van Dieman's Land and Tasmania, the Friendly Isles and New Zealand. The Dutch also

penetrated to Formosa, where they established a flourishing colony in 1624, but they were expelled by the pirate Koxinga some thirty-six years later.

The English appeared in the Malay Archipelago in 1600, so that there were then five European nations competing for its possession. Spain remained in undisputed possession of the Philippines, but, for the other islands, their story largely resolves itself into a struggle between Holland and Britain. Both countries worked their way to Colonial empire by means of chartered companies, the British East India Company being modelled on the Dutch and chartered two years later than its prototype. After a number of vicissitudes, Java still remains in the possession of Holland along with Sumatra, part of Borneo and New Guinea, the Celebes and other islands, while the British have outposts of their Eastern possessions in Singapore, Hong Kong, and other stations in the Pacific, which will be mentioned further on, as will also the outposts of other European Powers. In 1898 the Philippines were ceded to the United States after the war with Spain over the Cuban question, and in 1900 the same Power annexed Hawaii. These two steps involved very important political results, which we will consider later. Some further particulars of the chief countries in the Pacific area will be given, when we are considering their relations to Japan, but the sketch which we have given of the main facts of the development of our geographical knowledge of these countries will be useful to general readers as an introduction to the special references.

While the known lands of the globe have, for some centuries, been increasing in extent, there has been going on, especially during the past fifty years or so, what
 The engineer as revolutionist. from an economic point of view may be considered a shrinkage of the world, which has had a very striking effect on world politics. It has been truly said that the engineer is the real revolutionist. His work has shrunk the world into small dimensions, and has brought into action forces against which the efforts of statesmen are

vain, and even the action of armies and navies is of little avail, since ultimately economic conditions determine the fates of nations. Legislation and political action may divert, for some time, the forces which are moulding national affairs, but in the long run they must yield to the economic forces which are at work, so that nowadays the engineers, manufacturers, and merchants bring about conditions which have great influence on politics. In no part of the world has this been so distinctly shown as in the countries in the Far East during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The great developments which have taken place in navigation, chiefly on account of the change from sailing to steamships, have been the most important factors. In 1870 only 10 per cent of the world's shipping was moved by steam, to-day only 10 per cent is moved by wind. The steamships in co-operation with the trans-continental railways have done much to equalise economic conditions in the various countries of the world, and to bring their practical politics into close relations. Oceanic telegraph cables, wireless telegraphy and telephones have given a fresh mobility to ideas. Science has thus practically annihilated the space which separates the countries in the Pacific area, and they cannot live in isolation. What affects one to a greater or less extent affects almost all the others, and therefore it is absolutely necessary that those who are responsible for their government should not only understand existing conditions so that they may intelligently recognise the constant evolution which is going on, but also as far as possible estimate its effects on the countries of the West which are connected with it by commercial or political relations.

We need only go back to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which was an event which produced immediate and serious economic changes—industrial, commercial, and financial—in the affairs of the Far East. Before that time all the trade of the Western Hemisphere with India and the Far East had been by the Cape of Good Hope, at an expenditure in time of from six to eight months for the round voyage,

and the time and risks involved naturally caused a vast system of warehousing, distribution, and banking suited to the conditions. The opening of the Canal rendered the greater number of the sailing ships hitherto in use practically valueless, and an amount of tonnage, estimated by some authorities as high as two million tons, and representing an immense amount of wealth, was virtually destroyed. New steamships specially designed for the passage of the Canal were constructed, and, with the improvements which have been made in recent years, the voyage from London to Bombay can now be performed in less than three weeks, while the Far East can be reached in a time varying from a month to six weeks according to the route selected. The developments of railway communication in the Near and Middle East and in India open up great possibilities and promise to restore the countries concerned to something like the importance which they occupied in the early history of the world. Cairo may, some day, become a sort of Charing Cross in the great international system of the world. The great project of the Cape to Cairo Railway is slowly but surely coming within the range of practicality and completion, and a line from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf is already in sight, and that will link up with the Indian railway system, which again is rapidly approaching connection with that of China, while a project has been seriously discussed for connecting the Old and the New World by means of a tunnel under Behring Strait. Its realisation would make it possible to travel by rail from Calais to Montreal, New York, or any part of South America. An ambitious scheme for a Pan-American Railway—a great trunk line connecting the two halves of the New World—has been seriously proposed and will no doubt be carried out some day.

Already, however, much has been done by the construction of the Trans-Siberian and Trans-American Railways and the connecting lines of steamers to give a great impetus to trade on the Pacific Ocean and to affect profoundly economic and

political conditions. The most recent development in this direction, namely the Tehuantepec Railway, which crosses the isthmus through Mexican territory, owes its existence chiefly to British enterprise. From first to last the work, which was begun at a time when the canal scheme was in abeyance, has cost some ten millions sterling. The idea of the constructors was not so much to compete with the sea-route *via* Cape Horn as with the trans-continental lines in the United States. Even after the Panama Canal has been completed, the advantage of distance will always be in favour of this route as regards the eastern and western States of America, since it brings New York 1200 and New Orleans 1850 miles nearer to San Francisco than they will be by the Panama Canal. It is interesting to recall the fact that Cortez, nearly four centuries ago, planned a military road, almost on the line now taken by the railway, which he called "the road to Cathay."

The construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway has brought Europe within a few weeks of the ports of China and Japan, and it has already been the cause of most momentous political events. Without it the Russians would not have attempted the aggressive policy which led to the war with Japan, which revealed their weakness and the strength of Japan. The Powers of Europe were made partially aware of that strength by the war between Japan and China in 1894-95, which placed political affairs in the Far East in a state of unstable equilibrium, in which they remained until after the war between Japan and Russia. In a sense the war between the United States and Spain was a sequel to that between Japan and China, as recent industrial and commercial developments in America and the growth of the Imperial spirit in politics have made the United States a Power in the Pacific which seemed to require Hawaii and the Philippine Islands as midway naval and military stations.

The completion of the Panama Canal will have a profound effect on the commerce, not only of Japan and China,

but also of that of the other countries and colonies in the Pacific area. From New York to Hong-Kong *via* Panama will be almost as short as from London to Hong-Kong *via* Suez; and New York will be brought nearer to Japan by the new route than London is by the present route. Thus the Canal will have the effect of placing the industrial part of the United States (the north-east) on an equality with Britain in regard to distance from the markets of the Far East. This, for certain classes of goods, should cause a considerable impetus to the trade by the Trans-Siberian Railway, which now makes communication between London and Japan possible in about fourteen days. From British ports to New Zealand the Panama route is about 1300 miles shorter than the Suez route and 3000 miles shorter than the Cape route; but for Australia, China, and Japan the Suez route will still be shorter from Europe. The Canal will bring the Pacific ports of both North and South America into closer connection with the Atlantic and Gulf ports and with Europe. From Liverpool the saving will be over 6000 miles. The Canal will be of great naval importance to the United States by enabling it to concentrate its fleets in either ocean. This aspect of the subject will be considered in a later chapter.

The railway developments which are being carried out in Canada will have most important results not only on the trade of the American Continent but on that of the Far East and the Australasian colonies, and still greater developments lie in the future. The "all-red" route which has been proposed will, when carried out, open up a new British highway between Great Britain, New Zealand, and Australia, by way of Canada, which would be entirely in British territory, or under British control, and would thus have very important economic and political results on the development of the Australian Commonwealth. That Commonwealth, indeed, was rendered possible largely through the work of the engineer, by the construction of lines of swift steamers, of telegraph cables, and overland telegraph lines. All these

engineering developments have caused the world to shrink into small dimensions, and tended to bring economic conditions to a uniform level. Formerly large fortunes could be made by taking advantage of the conditions of local markets, and a good part of the wealth acquired by early British merchants in China was made by keeping swift steamers, which carried goods to markets where there was a great demand, and selling them at prices which were much above those ruling in the places of supply, whence further goods did not arrive until the high-priced goods were disposed of. At the present day telegraphic communications with all parts of the world have made transactions of this kind impossible by reducing prices to something like a uniform level. The most recent engineering proposal is for a network of wireless telegraphy to connect the scattered islands of the Pacific Ocean, which, if carried out, will be another step in the direction of economic uniformity and, it is to be hoped, of political co-operation.

There is, however, one aspect of the work of the engineer which is apt to be overlooked ; while the increase of the means of communication makes intercourse between nations much easier and thus leads to a better knowledge of each other which should tend to friendship, it at the same time adds to the difficulty of many of the problems. On the intellectual side it complicates them to a very great extent. It is evident Eastern minds are at present in a state of transition, and that they have not only gathered some Western ideas, but they are anxious to put them into practice. The result has been an amalgam, which differs much from any of its constituents. Their ideals of the meaning of life have changed, their national spirit has been raised, and they are anxious to make their countries great as greatness is measured by Western nations. Some of them are developing their resources at a very rapid rate, and the centre of magnitude of the world's industry and commerce is rapidly moving eastward. Individual and national antagonisms are thus raised which may lead to war.

There can be little doubt, for instance (as already remarked), that the conflict between Japan and Russia was at least hastened by the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway. Such antagonisms can only be allayed when merely material interests are subordinated by those higher interests, attention to which alone can lead to the real welfare of the nations concerned.

Although India and China had intercourse with the Greeks and Romans when they were in the height of their power, there is no record of any between Japan and Europe until 1541 when a Portuguese ship was wrecked on the shores of Japan. First meeting of Japan and European nations. Marco Polo, however, at the end of the thirteenth century, in the course of his voyages and travels in the East, had heard of Japan, under the name of "Zipangu," which he described as "an island towards the east, in the high seas, 1500 miles from the continent; and a very great island it is. The people are white, civilised, and well favoured. They are idolators and dependent on nobody, and I can tell you the quantity of gold they have is endless, for they find it in their own islands." It was the report about the gold in Japan which stimulated the Portuguese and Spaniards to endeavour to open a new sea-route to Asia in the fifteenth century, and "Cipango" occupies a significant place in the map used by Columbus in his voyages, and in seeking for it he reached the archipelago of the West Indies. As already mentioned, the Portuguese found their way from Goa to the Far East, and in 1541 certain Portuguese traders from Siam while sailing for China were driven by a typhoon out to sea to the shores of Japan. Several historians, however, mention Fernando Mendez Pinto as the first European visitor to "Chipangu," who is said to have been cast ashore in the province of Satsuma, in a shipwreck in 1543, and the account which he gave of the country was so wonderful that he was dubbed, by a pun on his Christian name, "the Mendacious," but, after all, his narrative was found to be substantially correct. The Portuguese found their trade

with Japan so lucrative that it increased considerably, and they were encouraged to come year after year.

The Daimyos or feudal chiefs received them freely, and exchanged their gold and silver for fire-arms and the luxuries of Europe and India imported by the Portuguese. The latter were granted the privilege of travelling freely in the interior, and they were even invited to settle on the lands, the Japanese offering to exempt them from all kinds of taxation and duties. A large commercial settlement was founded in Nagasaki in 1566, which did considerable trade. In 1549 Francis Xavier came in one of the Portuguese expeditions and introduced the work of the Jesuits, and later on the number of missionaries was very much increased. The Japanese received the Christian doctrines freely, and in 1581 it was estimated that the native Christians in the chief ports of the principal islands numbered as many as 150,000. Some of the Daimyos were converted to Christianity, and in 1582 they sent ambassadors to Rome to pay homage to Pope Gregory XIII. The Shogun, Taiko Hideyoshi, fearing that this would soon lead to the subjection of Japan to the Pope, not only in matters of religion but of government generally, determined to suppress the foreign propaganda, and in 1587 an edict was issued which ordered missionaries to leave Japan. The merchants, however, were not affected by it. The colonial Portuguese government at Goa sent a special mission to Hideyoshi requesting him to continue the favour which had been shown to the Portuguese in the past, but Hideyoshi was firm, and in July 25, 1592, he gave an answer justifying the edict. As this clearly shows the motive of the Japanese and helps to explain some of their actions in more recent times, it is interesting to note the words of the Shogun. He said: "As to what regards religion, Japan is the realm of the *Kami*, that is of *Sin*, and the beginning of all things, and the good order of the government depends upon the exact observance of the ancient laws of which the *Kami* are the authors. They cannot be departed from without overturning the subordination which

ought to exist of subjects to their sovereigns, wives to their husbands, children to their parents, vassals to their lords, and servants to their masters. These laws are necessary to maintain good order within and tranquillity without. The fathers, ealled the Company, have come to these islands to teach another religion; but as that of the *Kami* is too deeply rooted to be eradicated, this new law can only serve to introduce into Japan a diversity of worship very prejudicial to the State. It is on that account that, by an Imperial Edict, I have forbidden these strange doctors to continue to preach their doctrine. I have even ordered them to leave Japan, and I am determined not to allow anybody to come hither to retail new opinions." On the subject of commercial intercourse he spoke as follows: "But I still desire that commerce between you and me may continue on its old footing. I shall keep the way open to you by sea and land, by freeing the one from pirates and the other from robbers. The Portuguese may trade with my subjects in all security, and I shall take care that nobody harms them."

It is not necessary to enter into details of the intercourse of Japan with Europeans at these early dates or of the rivalry which existed between the representatives of the various Powers. The Spaniards complained of the Portuguese trade monopoly at Nagasaki, and charged the Portuguese with being engaged in a religious conspiracy to evade the recent edict, and Hideyoshi issued an order for the destruction of the Portuguese churches. The rivalry increased in intensity, not only as regards trade but also religion, and this induced Hideyoshi and his successors to impose further restrictions upon them. Their efforts in this direction were aided by endeavours of the Dutch and the English to share in the trade. These two Powers checked Spain's scheme of universal empire in Europe, and it was their sailors and merchants who destroyed the colonial and commercial monopoly of Spain and Portugal in America and Asia. This forms a very interesting story, but meantime it is sufficient to note that in 1602 various small Companies amalga-

mated and formed the "Dutch East India Company," which left its mark on India, Java, and Formosa. They also obtained a solid footing in Japan, largely through the personal influence of William Adams, an English sailor, over the Shogun Iyeyasu. Adams, who took up his residence in Japan in 1600, although an Englishman by birth was a naturalised Dutchman.

English intercourse with Japan did not assume a definite form until the arrival of Captain Saris, an agent of the East India Company in 1613, and after considerable negotiation a letter-patent granting the following privileges was given to the English in the name of the Governor of the East India Company:—

1. Freedom of commerce and navigation in the ports of Japan.

2. Absolute exemption from tariff duties, import as well as export, and from transit duties.

3. All necessary relief and assistance to wrecked ships and persons, and necessary provision and accommodation during their stay and on their departure.

4. Judicial control by the Cape Merchant (the head of the English factory) over the property of deceased English subjects and over all offences committed by English subjects—the Japanese law to have no effect upon their persons and their property.

5. An assurance that Japanese subjects would be required to fulfil their contracts of sale.

6. A guarantee against official confiscation of English goods, and an assurance of payment for official purchases.

7. The supply of Japanese subjects to English navigators in case they should need men for service in the prosecution of their trade and navigation.

8. Permission to explore Yezo (the present Hokkaido) or any adjacent islands of the Empire, without a further passport.

These commercial privileges were more liberal than had been granted to the other nationalities, and the English established themselves at Hirato, with branch houses at

Yedo, Osaka, Fukui, Karatsu, Suruga, Hyogo, Sakai, Nagasaki, and other places. The death of the generous Shogun Iyeyasu in 1615, however, was a severe loss to English commerce. Hidetada, his successor, restricted them to the Port of Hirato, on account of their alleged adhesion to the Roman Catholic faith, the Dutch having informed him that the English representatives were of the same religious faith as the Spanish and Portuguese, as shown by the marriage (as they wrongly alleged) of King James to a Portuguese princess.¹ The Dutch used the fear of Roman Catholic domination to advance their own interests, and after some attempts at co-operation with them in 1623 the British East India Company decided to withdraw from Japan.

The religious difficulty continued on account of the favour shown to Christianity by some of the Daimyos, and further restrictions in the freedom of foreigners took place. In 1624 an edict was issued by which "all ports of Japan were closed to foreigners except Hirato and Nagasaki. Of these Hirato remained open to the Dutch and English, Nagasaki to the Portuguese, and both to the Chinese. The repressive measures which were taken against Christianity caused, in 1637, a terrible insurrection among the converts. Of this the Portuguese were regarded as the chief instigators, and for this reason they were by the famous edict of 1638 ordered to leave Japan for ever. By the same edict the Japanese were also prohibited from going abroad. The following is the text of this important document :—

"No Japanese ship or boat whatever, nor any native of Japan shall presume to go out of the country ; whoever acts contrary to this shall die, and the ship with the crew and goods aboard shall be sequestered until further orders.

"All persons who return from abroad shall be put to death. Whoever discovers a priest shall have a reward of 400 to 500 *shuets* of silver, and for every Christian in proportion.

"All persons who propagate the doctrine of the Catholics

¹ *Diary of Richard Cocks (1615-1622)*, vol. i. p. 191.

or bear this scandalous name shall be imprisoned in the Omra or common jail of the town.

"The whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and whatever belongs to them, shall be banished to Macao.

"Whoever presumes to bring a letter from abroad, or to return after he hath been banished, shall die with all his family ; also whoever presumes to intercede for him shall be put to death. No nobleman nor any soldier shall be suffered to purchase anything from a foreigner."

The Dutch traders played a very unworthy part in these transactions, for they not only supplied to the Japanese documentary proof of the complicity of the Portuguese in the recent conspiracy, but they renounced the Christian faith, at least in appearance, in order that they might retain their commercial connection with the Japanese. One of the conditions attached to the connection was that their chief agent should furnish the Government with an annual report on foreign events. In 1641 the Dutch merchants were ordered to reside in Deshima, an island near to Nagasaki ; and under these humiliating conditions they continued to enjoy a commercial monopoly until the re-opening of Japan in 1858.

A very interesting side-light has recently been thrown on the early relations of the Spanish and the Dutch with Japan, and, through the former, of Japan with Mexico, by investigations of original documents preserved in Spain and Japan, and of which an account has been given by Mrs. Nuttall.¹ They give a further proof of the intrigues of the Europeans of various nationalities against each other in their endeavours to obtain for themselves as large a share as possible of the trade of Japan, and they enable us to recognise very clearly the manifold causes and events which within a few years wrought so complete a change in Iyeyasu's views, and which culminated in the banishment of foreigners, the extirpation of Christianity, and the complete isolation of Japan for centuries.

¹ *Publications of University of California*, vol. iv. No. 1.

More or less frequent intercourse between Japan and Mexico undoubtedly took place as soon as communication was established between the Philippine Islands and Acapulco. In 1608 there were fifteen thousand Japanese residing in the Philippines, some of whom were probably employed in the crews of the galleons, eight of which came to Acapulco each year. In 1610, with an ex-governor of the Philippines, twenty-three Japanese noblemen and merchants spent five months in Mexico and its capital. In 1613 one hundred and eighty Japanese spent four and a half months in Mexico. A most interesting item in the documents referred to is an account of an embassy, in charge of General Don Sebastian Viscaino, which sailed for Japan on March 22, 1611, from Vera Cruz, accompanied by the Japanese nobleman, now known as Don Francisco de Valasco, twenty-two Japanese merchants, a commissary and six friars of the Franciscan order, a captain named Palacios, and a crew of fifty-two. We cannot, of course, enter into details of the varied adventures of that embassy, but the somewhat lengthy superscription of Viscaino's report conclusively reveals the true aim of his embassy, which he took such pains to conceal from the Japanese, but of which they were informed by William Adams and his Dutch friends. It reads as follows: "Account of the voyage made for the discovery of the Islands named 'The Rich in Gold and Silver,' situated in Japan, Don Luis de Valasco, being Viceroy of New Spain, and his son Sebastian Viscaino, the General of the Expedition." Like his successors more than two hundred years later he had evidently a keen eye for the gold and silver of the Japanese. His plans, however, were circumvented by a clever friar named Luis Sotelo, who had formerly acted as the Shogun's ambassador. This time, by a combination of intrigue and profession of religion, he took entire command of Viscaino's ship, and he and a Japanese nobleman named Hasekura Rokuyemon set out as co-ambassadors for Musumane, the Lord of Oxo, with a suite of one hundred and eighty Japanese, including sixty samurai and several mer-

chants. They were also provided with letters not only to the Viceroy of Mexico, but also to the King of Spain and to Pope Paul V. Friar Sotelo's arrival in Mexico as the ambassador of the Protector of Christianity in Japan, and with a flock of would-be converts, was regarded as a triumph of the Church, and particularly of the deservedly much-loved Franciscan order. After great ceremonies in its honour in Mexico the embassy embarked in one of the best Spanish vessels, and, escorted by a fleet commanded by General Antonio de Oquendo, reached Havana a fortnight later, and finally landed in Spain on October 5, 1614. The embassy was received with honours in Madrid, where the baptism of the ambassador was celebrated. He was given the name of the King, who probably acted as his sponsor, and that of Francis, the founder of Friar Sotelo's order. Friar Cavo states that "this embassy did not succeed in establishing commercial relations between Spain and Japan, on account of the persecution of Christians going on in the latter country." It is obvious, however, that no diplomatic negotiations could possibly have been entered into by the King of Spain with ambassadors who were sent by one of the feudal lords and not by the Emperor of the country whence they came. After a very short stay in Madrid the embassy went to Rome, where the friars and Hasekura were received in audience by the Pope on November 3, 1615. It is recorded that after being presented to his Holiness they read him, probably with a view of obtaining his support, Latin translations of Masumane's letters, in which the prince cordially invited Franciscan friars to his domain, promised to protect all converts to the Catholic faith, expressed his desire to hold friendships with his Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain, and to enter into direct commercial relations with Mexico. After an absence of six years the embassy returned to Japan in 1620. This prolonged absence seems to indicate that it would have been dangerous for them to have returned sooner on account of the persecution of the Christians in Japan, and the proscription of their religion. A consider-

able number of converted Japanese and a few merchants remained in Mexico, doubtless studying its products and manufactures. The mercantile relations with Mexico, which are said, in the Japanese *History of Commerce*, to have been kept up until 1636, when they entirely ceased, were probably established by these merchants and limited to Masumane's domain. Three years after the return of the embassy, that is in 1624, as already mentioned, there was issued the edict ordering away all foreigners and interdicting Christianity. The early Mexican episode in Japanese history is one of peculiar interest from many points of view.

From the sketch which has been given of the early relations of Japan and the West it is quite evident that the Japanese were not originally "anti-European" or "anti-Christian," and that they were not governed by "race prejudice." On the contrary all the evidence goes to show that they welcomed foreigners without regard to nationality, race, or religion, and treated them with the greatest liberality, granting them freedom of commerce and religion, and, moreover, in addition, giving them the privilege of extra-territoriality. What their statesmen opposed, and what led them to take very drastic measures, was the attempt of those who were acting as propagandists of the Catholic religion to interfere in the government of the country and even to bring it, to a certain extent, under foreign domination, and they determined to preserve the sovereignty of Japan by causing her to remain isolated from the society of the West. The intense dislike which the Japanese for many years showed to Christianity arose not from any feeling against it, by itself, but because they believed that it was used as a means to gain political power, and thus not only stain the honour of Japan but even endanger its independence. These facts ought to be carefully remembered when we are considering the relations of Japan with Western nations, and when we are criticising the policy which the Government carried out, for their memory was burned into "the soul of the people."

To know New Japan aright we must study Old Japan, for we cannot understand things as they are without knowing how they became what they are. Life in Old Japan illustrated many of the common Eastern characteristics; but from early times the Japanese have shown that they had qualities of their own, which no doubt were to be accounted for by their climatic conditions, their religious belief, their racial descent, and the influences of India, China, and Korea. On this part of the subject, however, only a few remarks are at present possible.

Life in Old
Japan.

The Japanese trace their descent from the gods. Their first Emperor, Jimmu Tenno, acceded to the throne in 660 B.C., but recent investigations seem to show that the first trustworthy date in Japanese history is A.D. 461, and that even the annals of the sixth century are to be received with caution. The first Emperors or Mikados held absolute sway over the whole of Japan, but the defective means of communication necessarily left large discretionary powers in the hands of the local authorities. These gradually increased, and ultimately something like what we know as the feudal system was evolved. The Emperors had nominal authority over the country, but the Daimyos or feudal chiefs carried on the work of administration to a large extent on their own responsibility. Towards the end of the seventh century one of the hereditary Ministers of State began to encroach on the power of the Emperor, and from that time till the revolution in 1868, the Emperors reigned but did not rule. The commander-in-chief or generalissimo of the Emperor, called the Shogun (Sei-i Tai-Shogun, that is "Barbarian-subduing Generalissimo"), assumed almost all the actual government, and this condition of affairs gave rise to the belief among foreigners that there were two Emperors in Japan, one temporal and the other spiritual. There were several changes in the dynasty, that of Tokugawa held power for nearly 270 years. On the advent of foreigners the Shogun was known by the name of Tycoon, but that was a name

adapted from the Chinese in order to impress foreigners with a sense of his dignity.

The people of the West too often make the mistake of believing that the civilisation of Japan began with the opening of the country to Western influences, whereas it began at least 1500 years ago, and consequently the opening of the country to foreigners found not only Japanese civilisation highly developed, but also the Japanese mind in readiness for Western ideas. India, China, and Korea all contributed their share to the national life, but everything which Japan absorbed became essentially Japanese. Buddhism came from India through China to Japan, and was influenced by Shintoism, the Japanese religion, and thus became very different in detail from the Indian religion. Chinese literature on being introduced into Japan became, as it were, tinged with a personality that has made it typically Japanese. The fine arts introduced from China and Korea were modified in the same way by Japanese influence. What was true of the earlier civilisation is true of the later. We shall see that in every department of national life the Japanese have not been content to copy Western ways of thought and action. They have taken what they thought to be useful to them; but in its application it has been profoundly modified and adapted to the new conditions, thus proving that they are not the servile imitators they are sometimes said to be.

Life in Old Japan had much to commend it to the thoughtful student of social conditions. The majority of the people lived their own lives, and did not simply struggle for the means of existence or for wealth and power as is too often the case in Western countries. True, measured from the point of view of modern civilisation, the outlook must have been narrow, at least so far as the affairs of this world were concerned; but their religion, or at any rate their philosophy, took them beyond those affairs, and to a large extent made them indifferent to them, and thus caused them to neglect the means which were necessary to enable them to realise their higher personalities. Life was held at

a low value, no doubt because its existence at any time was considered insignificant when compared with the cycles through which it extended. As in all feudal systems it must be admitted that the military class dominated the rest of the people, whose welfare was made secondary to theirs. Measured by Western standards the lives of the majority of the people were empty, as education, in the modern sense of the term, was rare. Many, however, found pleasure in their work, and they asked for no other blessedness. Even the most common craft had something artistic about it which revealed the personality of the worker. Outdoor pleasures, which were taken advantage of by all classes of the community, prevented tedium and maintained health; and the absence of material wealth was not much missed, as life was simple and wants were few. There were no great fortunes, but there was no degrading poverty, for the semi-communism which prevailed provided for the wants of all without the machinery of a poor-law. Children supported their parents in old age, and even the poorest classes had friends or relations who supplied their wants. Modern industry, emigration, and war had not upset the provisions of nature, and practically all the women obtained husbands who were able to provide for them in some way, so that the woman question, as we know it, did not come to the front. No doubt, in some respects, the position of women was very far from satisfactory, at least when measured from a Western point of view, and they were too much the mere subordinates of the men; but in the majority of cases their lives were not unhappy and they proved themselves model wives and mothers. Any one who knows the conditions of the poorest class of women in Britain, and compares them with what existed and still exists in Japan, would have no hesitation in saying that the lot of the Japanese was to be preferred.

Men's position and influence were measured by their personal worth and not by their riches. The samurai had their incomes secured from the revenues of the land, and

they often supplemented these by a little amateur farming. The tiller of the soil was looked upon with respect, because it was recognised that he, above all others, was an efficient worker, as he produced the necessities of life. Tradesmen, artists, and workers of all kinds carried on their employments very much at their ease, as they had learned that real happiness was found in giving out to their work the best that was in them. Merchants and speculators occupied the lowest position in the category of vocations. Consequently commerce did not reach a high degree of development, and the obloquy attached to the calling naturally brought within its pale such as cared little for social repute ; a fact which explains some of the characteristics that have given Japanese merchants a bad name among commercial men, a name which, however, is rapidly disappearing as education develops and as a superior class of men enters into mercantile life.

Under the old regime in Japan all the workers were artists to a greater or less degree, that is to say, each one impressed in his work his own individuality. This was true even of mechanical trades, but it was strikingly true of all artistic crafts, and was, to a large extent, the direct result of the social and economic conditions existing under the feudal system. In the early days of the Shogunate each Daimyo based the reputation of his clan on martial prowess ; but, during the long peace of the Tokugawa period, art and industry were the distinguishing features of the country, between which there was a certain amount of friendly rivalry for excellence in their productions. In these days time was not money, the artists were able to work in a leisurely manner and give full play to their genius, and all their products had the marks of their own individualities ; and these again were fashioned to a large extent by the spirit and conditions of the country.

Courtesy and good breeding have always been characteristics of the Japanese. As early as the twelfth century they were so well marked as to make the Chinese call Japan

“Kunstsukno” (the country of gentlemen), while Kämpfer (1692) says: “The behaviour of the Japanese, from the meanest countryman up to the greatest prince or lord, is such that the whole empire might be called a school of civility and good manners.” The true samurai insisted on justice in all his dealings with his fellow-men, and courage was not esteemed unless it was exercised in the cause of righteousness, while benevolence, magnanimity, sympathy, and pity were ever recognised to be supreme virtues, the highest of all the attributes of the human soul. The results on general conduct were such as to command admiration, the simplicity and amiability of their manners, the daintiness of their habits, the delicate tact displayed in pleasure giving, and the strange power of presenting outwardly, under any circumstances, only the best and brightest aspects of their character, were traits which marked every sphere and condition of life and which are yet observable by all visitors to Japan.

The rise of Japan as a power among the nations of the world is so intimately connected with her relations to Korea and China that it will be convenient to give here a brief outline of these relations.

Relations of
Japan with
Korea and
China.

Intercourse between Japan, Korea, and China must have existed from time immemorial, for China and Korea are situated on the same continent, and a Japanese junk can easily, in one day's sail, reach the Korean coast. Without entering on the myths of the legendary age, it is interesting to note that the first diplomatic intercourse of Japan with Korea took place in the year 33 B.C. The official intercourse with China is said to have been inaugurated by one of the Daimyos of Kiushu during the Han dynasty, and it was this intercourse of China with a local lord of Japan that often led the old Chinese historians to pretend that Japan was tributary to China, but it was carried on without the knowledge of the central government or of any one who represented that government. Although relations of a

formal or commercial kind existed in the early centuries of the Christian era, it was not until the beginning of the seventh century that they attained anything like importance. In the year A.D. 607 the Emperor of Japan sent an embassy to the court of China with specimens of the national products and an imperial letter which was addressed as follows: "A letter from the sovereign of the Sun-rise country to the sovereign of the Sun-set country," and this incident is said to have been the origin of the name Nippon (Land of the Rising Sun). The Japanese ambassador was cordially received at the Chinese court, and in the following year he returned through the Korean peninsula, accompanied by a Chinese ambassador who, on his arrival in Japan, was received by the Mikado, to whom he presented splendid gifts from his sovereign. In these days there was, of course, no regular diplomatic service, but the exchange of presents, consisting of national products, was a significant feature of such visits, and was regarded as a token of friendly and peaceful relations.

Korea was divided into several practically independent kingdoms which were often at war with each other, and one of them asked the Emperor of Japan to send a skilful general to assist them against their enemies, and in 27 B.C. a Japanese general was commissioned to restore the peace of the Korean kingdom. The interference of Japan in the affairs of Korea is, thus, a matter of great antiquity.

For almost two hundred years affairs seem to have gone on without much internal or external trouble until the Empress-Regent Jingo (A.D. 206-269) invaded the country for the purpose of putting an end to serious disturbances which had taken place, and in this she was signally successful. In consequence of these events most Japanese historians have regarded the Korean kingdoms as states subject to the suzerainty of Japan; but in this they were mistaken, as the annual contributions to China and Japan, which were sent from Korea, appear really to have been of the nature of formal presents, given in token of amity and goodwill with a view of avoiding aggressive demands.

We cannot follow all the details of Japanese intercourse with Korea. Trade between the two countries developed, but with it also grew a race of Japanese pirates which dominated Asiatic waters, and foreign intercourse with Japan almost ceased. Internal troubles arose in Japan through conflicts between the Daimyos, and lasted a century, till Oda Nobunaga restored order in 1573. This success inspired one of his generals, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, with the ambition to subjugate China and Korea. Hideyoshi, known in history as Taiko the Great, was the greatest hero ever produced in Old Japan. Though he was of humble origin, he rapidly raised himself to the position of one of the most prominent generals of Nobunaga, the general-in-chief. On the death of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi succeeded him as general-in-chief; and after completing his work of pacifying Japan, he attempted to realise his immoderate ambition of founding a universal empire in Asia. Suffice it to say that in this he failed, after having wasted more than 260,000 human lives. Moreover, while he was carrying on his foreign wars, Tokugawa Iyeyasu usurped the power of the Hideyoshi family, and founded the dynasty of the Shoguns, which was in power when Japan was opened to foreign intercourse in the middle of last century. Iyeyasu (as we have seen) took drastic steps to prevent foreign enterprises by prohibiting the building of ocean-going vessels, and for all practical purposes the isolation extended to Korea and China, the intercourse with the former being confined to the sending of a certain number of Japanese junks to Fusan, a southern port of Korea, for the barter of the products of the two nations. It remained in this condition until after the Restoration in Japan in 1868.

Although the European nations made no formal protest against Japan's edict of exclusion, they made several unsuccessful attempts to resume commercial and diplomatic relations. In 1643 the Portuguese sent two men-of-war with a message to the Daimyo of Satsuma, apologising for the religious abuses of

Reopening of
Japan.

the past and asking him to restore the former intercourse ; but they were unsuccessful in their efforts. In 1673 an English ship came to Nagasaki with a royal letter, and demanded a revival of commerce in the old agreement ; but the governor declined all communications, and he justified his action by referring to the marriage of Charles II. to a daughter of the King of Portugal, a Catholic sovereign with whom intercourse was forbidden by the positive law of the Empire, thus showing very distinctly the grounds of the Japanese antipathy to foreigners. In the reign of Louis XIV., Colbert, in his efforts to restore stability to the financial administration of France, founded the French East India Company, and projected the establishment of commercial intercourse with Japan, but his project was not carried out.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, when communications between Europe and China were becoming somewhat common, numerous attempts were made by naval officers of Britain, France, Russia, and the United States to open intercourse with Japan. The latter were the most persistent in their efforts. It seems that in 1815 proposals were made to attempt to get into communication with Japan, but nothing came of them. Later on John Quincy Adams declared it to be "the right and even the duty of Christian nations to open the ports of Japan, and the duty of Japan to assent on the ground that no nation has the right, any more than has a man, to withdraw its private contribution to the welfare of the whole." This may be considered a philosophic generalisation, but it showed that opinion in America was ripening on the subject, and it should be remembered in the discussions which are taking place at the present day. It was, however, not till 1832 that any definite step was taken, and then President Jackson appointed Edmund Roberts as a special agent to negotiate treaties with the Asiatic nations, but Roberts died before reaching Japan. In 1845 Commodore Biddle was instructed, after conveying to China the ratified treaty of commerce and amity concluded in 1844, to

call in Japan, and, if possible, ascertain the sentiments of the Government with regard to the desirability of commercial relations with the United States. He was particularly cautioned not "to excite a hostile feeling or a distrust of the United States." He did not get to Japan until 1848, but his advances were repulsed, and he returned without having made any progress with the object he had in view.

The development of events in America and China, however, caused great interest to be excited in the subject of intercourse with Japan. The discovery of gold in California gave a great impetus to the trade and industry of the Pacific coast, and the establishment of treaty relations with China opened the prospect of greatly developed commercial relations, while the introduction of steam navigation supplied the means of making these possible. All these causes made it desirable that the United States should be able to use the Japanese harbours and obtain Japanese coal. Moreover, it was felt that if success attended them in a task in which Europeans had failed, it would redound to the glory of the American Republic. Considerable delay occurred in carrying out the arrangements which were made; but at the end of November 1852 Commodore Perry sailed for Japan by the way of Cape of Good Hope in command of the steam frigate *Mississippi* and several other vessels. The President's letter contained the following declaration: "I have no other object in sending him (Commodore Perry) to Japan but to propose to your Imperial Majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and commercial intercourse with each other." Perry was instructed to effect a permanent arrangement as to the treatment of shipwrecks; to obtain permission for American vessels to procure supplies and provisions; and to secure, if possible, the establishment of a coal depot, and the privilege of trading at one or more ports.

The Government of the Shogun had been warned through the Dutch factory at Nagasaki of the coming of the American expedition, but so little attention was paid to

the report that its appearance at the entrance of the Bay of Yedo in July 8, 1853, caused intense surprise to the people and great embarrassment to the Government. Commodore Perry assured the Governor of Uraga that he had been sent by the President of the United States with a letter for the Emperor, and he desired a personal interview with an official of the highest rank in order to arrange for its presentation. The Governor declared that the law of the land forbade any communication with a foreign country to be held elsewhere than at Nagasaki through Dutch or Chinese agents, and that the squadron should proceed thither. Perry, however, declined to do this, and after some negotiation the Daimyo of Idzu was appointed a commissioner to receive the letter, which he did on July 14, at Kurihama, two miles from the town of Uraga, where a building was specially erected for the reception of the American envoy. Perry did not insist on an immediate reply to the letter, but at once set sail for China, intending to augment his squadron with ships which were then employed in protecting American interests in China, and announced that he would return in the ensuing spring to Yedo Bay for an answer.

The Government of the Shogun, finding itself in a very serious difficulty in consequence of the demands which had been made, in order to ascertain the opinions of the Daimyos sent out a circular along with a translation of the President's letter. They were unanimously in favour of the continuance of a policy of seclusion, and, when the whole nation was agitated by a discussion on the subject, Perry reappeared in the Bay of Yedo on February 13, 1854, with a formidable squadron of eight ships. The leading statesmen clearly saw that it was impossible to maintain successfully the traditional policy, and they decided to listen to Perry's demands. After repeated conferences and discussions, banquets and exchange of presents, a treaty containing twelve articles was formally signed and exchanged on the last day of March 1854. Other nations were not slow to follow this example, and on October 15, 1854,

Rear-Admiral Sir James Stirling, cruising in Pacific waters during the Crimean War, concluded, at Nagasaki, a convention for opening Japanese ports to British ships. In February 1855 the Russians negotiated a treaty for the settlement of boundaries and for the opening of Japanese ports to Russian ships. Although the Dutch had a monopoly of trade at Nagasaki, they had no formal treaty, but in January 1855 they made an agreement in terms similar to those of America, Britain, and Russia.

These treaties were merely of the nature of preliminary arrangements for the opening of the country, and they stipulated for the opening of the ports of Shimoda, Nagasaki, and Hakodate, for the purpose of obtaining necessary provisions, for hospitality in case of shipwreck, and for shelter in case of distress, and none of them was, in the usual sense, a treaty of amity and commerce. No provision was made for general trade and its regulation, nor for diplomatic relations, although the Western Powers were eventually to be allowed to be represented by a consul or commercial agent.

The United States, however, lost no time in completing their arrangements, and in August 1856 Townsend Harris was sent as Consul-General to reside at Shimoda, but, although officially only a consular officer, he was clothed by his Government with diplomatic powers. Meantime we cannot enter into the details of the negotiations which followed; it is sufficient to note that Harris on February 9, 1858, completed a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and Japan, and to him is due a great part of the credit for the successful opening of Japan to foreign trade. He gave assistance to Lord Elgin in the negotiations about the British treaty. Later on the Government of the Shogun concluded treaties with Prussia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland, and Sweden and Norway.

These agreements were called by the Japanese "the Ansei treaties," because they were negotiated in the Ansei

period. They made provision for diplomatic agents at the capital and for consuls at the open ports. The ports of Shimoda, Hakodate, Nagasaki, Kanagawa (Yokohama), Niigata, and Hiogo (Kobe) were to be open for foreign trade and residence, Yedo for foreign residence only, and Osaka for trade only. It was stipulated that the Foreign Powers should have the right to use their own law courts in Japan, and to exercise consular jurisdiction over their citizens, a provision which caused long discussions and diplomatic negotiations in future years. The treaties imposed restrictions upon foreigners, except those in diplomatic service, so that they could neither travel into the interior of the Empire without passports nor reside outside the foreign settlements, although they secured freedom of worship. Tariff regulations were made which allowed the import of any article except opium (which was strictly forbidden), about which they had taken a lesson from the sad experience of China. The most favoured nation provision was applied not only to commercial privileges but also to judicial concessions. The treaty with the United States contained the further stipulation that the President would act as "a friendly mediator in case of a difference between Japan and any European Power," a provision which has a special interest at the present time.

In order that the position of affairs in China may be understood when we are considering the conditions of the countries in the Pacific area in their relations to Japan, it will be convenient to give a brief outline of the chief events in the early relations of that country with the West. If we went back to the beginning we would find the records involved in the mists of antiquity. There is historical evidence to show that in the second century B.C. there was considerable trade between the Roman Empire and Northern China. The conquests of Alexander the Great gave a great impetus to the overland trade with China, and the consolidation of the Empire of the Western world under the Romans continued and expanded it.

Contact of
China with
the West.

An interesting but well-nigh forgotten or discredited incident in the history of the contact of China with the West was the work of the Nestorian missionaries who entered China in the year A.D. 636, and the wonderful reception given to them and the success of their efforts disproves the often repeated opinion that the Chinese have always been animated by a strong anti-foreign feeling. The T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618-907) has been called the Augustan age of Chinese literature, and under its sway China was governed by some of the best and most liberal-minded rulers that the Celestial Empire has ever known.¹ One of these, the famous Emperor T'ai Tsung and his wife the Empress Ch'ang Sun, not only stand out among the rulers of China, but may be ranked as two of the best, wisest, and most talented sovereigns that the world has ever seen. Under T'ai Tsung's personal supervision the Chinese army reached a high state of excellence, and it is said that he made his kingdom so safe that doors could be left open all night. But though the Emperor early showed his skill on the field of battle, he did not love war, and as soon as he had put down his enemies he turned his attention towards the education and enlightenment of his people. As a preliminary step, he dismissed three thousand of the ladies of the palace to their houses. Then he built an immense library at the capital, in which he collected over 200,000 volumes and not only spent much time in reading and study himself, but also insisted on all mandarins in the capital cultivating their minds, and the library, with its reception- and reading-rooms, became a centre of intellectual industry, and here were frequently discussed the great problems of religion. The Emperor himself was a strong Confucianist, and had no sympathy with either the Buddhism or Taoism then as now so widely spread among the people.

The Nestorian missionaries were kindly received by the Emperor, probably at first because the King of Persia (the land from which the missionaries came) was his ally. He ordered the first minister of the Empire to go with a great

¹ Cf. *The East and the West*, April 1909, p. 202.

train of attendants to the Western suburbs to meet the strangers and bring them to the palace. "He had the Holy Scriptures translated in the Imperial Library. The Court listened to the doctrine, and meditated on it profoundly and understood the great unity of truth." We cannot, of course, follow the details of the history of the Nestorian missionaries and of the events which led to their practical extinction after working for about seven hundred years. In the year A.D. 1293, after several unsuccessful attempts, a Roman Catholic mission was established beside them in Peking, and the Nestorian Christianity rapidly gave way before the Roman. In A.D. 1368 the friendly Tartar dynasty set up by Kublai Khan came to an end, and persecution became the order of the day. The last authentic fact known with regard to the Christian Church in China at this period is the martyrdom of James of Florence, Roman Catholic Bishop of Hangchow, in A.D. 1362. Probably numbers shared his fate, and the two missions were swallowed up in a common disaster. It was not till the year A.D. 1552, some two hundred years later, that we again read of missionary work in China which was inaugurated by Francis Xavier and the Jesuit Mission, and which had begun operations in Japan a few years previously.

It was not until the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, at the end of the fifteenth century, and the consequent development of geographical knowledge that Europeans settled in China for purposes of trade. In 1516 the Portuguese established "factories" at Ningpo and one or two other places, but their conduct was marked by such lawlessness that the people rose against them and expelled them, and the Portuguese lost their footing on the mainland. They, however, were able to occupy a small tongue of land known as Macao, which was gained by deception by pretending that "certain goods, falsely represented as tribute, had been injured in a storm and must be dried, and they obtained permission to erect sheds at Macao for that purpose, and subsequently remained as tenants of the place on pay-

ment of five hundred ounces of silver." As the Chinese were unable to expel them, in self-defence, they erected a stone wall which delimited Macao from the mainland. The Portuguese population of Macao now numbers about 7000, and owing to intermarriage with Chinese is almost a separate race, known throughout China as Macao Portuguese. Since 1849 the settlement has been under the direct rule of Portugal, the 90,000 Chinese now settled there being equally under Portuguese jurisdiction, and the long-disputed sovereignty over the peninsula was finally admitted by treaty made with China in 1887. The method of obtaining possession, however, was not likely to give the Chinese a very favourable impression of European methods of procedure. Macao is, on account of its salubrious site, now chiefly noted as a sanatorium and watering-place of residents of Hong-Kong.

The next European arrivals were the Spaniards, who, having seized the Philippine Islands in 1543, in order to make their possession quite secure massacred all the Chinese in the islands to the number of several thousands, an operation which they repeated sixty years later, when a considerable number had again come together. Then followed the Dutch, who not only treated the Chinese very harshly, but also attacked both the Spaniards and Portuguese. In short, the Dutch introduced themselves to the Chinese as international freebooters, and an account of their doings makes very depressing reading to those who ask the Chinese to emulate the example of Christian nations. It is interesting to note, in view of what is happening at the present day, that in the year 1839 the Dutch issued an interdict against the admission of Chinese settlers to any of the Dutch-Indian colonies, since the skill of the immigrants threatened to engross the labour market. "It was left," as Captain Brinkley remarks, "for the Dutch to practise exclusiveness against others while claiming liberality for themselves. Other nations, however, are not ashamed to follow in the same course even in the twentieth century."

It was not till 1637 that the English introduced themselves to China and the Portuguese were good enough to represent them to the Chinese as "rogues, thieves, and beggars," and, as persons of this type were not desirable from any point of view, the Chinese forts fired upon the English ships; after a severe fight the forts were taken and a letter was sent to the officials at Canton asking for liberty to trade. These preliminary amenities were a very good illustration of the English methods of dealing with the Chinese. Moreover, the foreigners not infrequently fought among themselves, and gave some very striking examples of the manner in which professing Christians love each other.

In 1792-3 Lord Macartney was sent by the British Government on an embassy to Peking, but little progress was made in the development of commercial arrangements, and he was informed that hereafter trade must be strictly confined to Canton. The later mission of Lord Amherst in 1816 was even less successful, being peremptorily sent away, it being stated that the Chinese Government were alarmed and offended by British expansion in India, and were afraid if any encouragement was given that a similar result would follow in China. The conduct of the foreign residents was certainly not such as to inspire friendship on the part of the Chinese. Dr. Williams says that the foreign communities were a law unto themselves, and living, as he puts it, in a state of nature. A British witness, examined by a Parliamentary Committee at a later date, frankly testified: "We never paid any attention to any law of China that I recollect." Despite Imperial prohibitions, constant efforts were made by the merchants to extend the area of their trade, but the officials acting under orders from Peking always thwarted them.

This state of affairs explains the outbreak of the war between Britain and China in 1839-42 usually called the "Opium War." A recent writer¹ has remarked that "no more unjustifiable war has ever been waged by a civilised nation. Cupidity was its cause, and cupidity of a demoralis-

¹ Colonel A. M. Murray, *Imperial Outposts*, p. 83.

ing nature. The war can only be described as a successful piratical attempt to force an illicit traffic in a contraband and noxious drug on an unwilling people," and in support of this opinion he quotes an extract from a despatch of Sir H. Pottinger, British Minister in China, to the effect that "the opium traffic was the great cause that produced the disturbances which led to the war." An eminent American statesman, John Quincy Adams, speaking in later years of the war, declared that its cause was not opium but an insolent assumption of superiority on the part of China. We need not, however, discuss this matter in detail or attempt to examine all the aspects of the opium question, as our present object is simply to show the conditions under which Britain and China came into contact; the fact cannot be disputed that the opium traffic was the immediate cause of the war.

Its immediate outcome was the opening of five ports to British trade and the cession to Great Britain of Hong-Kong, a rocky islet which was then the abode of fishermen and pirates, but which to-day has a greater tonnage than any other seaport in the world. Another consequence of the war was the outbreak of rebellions in different parts of the Empire, as the people were enraged because their rulers had allowed themselves to be beaten by a handful of foreigners. The motives of their leaders were, no doubt, mixed. It became evident that the chief cause of their action was an outburst of national spirit which resented the indignities that had been put on their country. Like other blind and semi-conscious movements they ended in failure.

The next act in the Chinese drama was the "Arrow War" of 1857-60, in which a small vessel called the *Arrow* was the occasion, although probably not the cause. The cause was the haughty, arrogant methods of the British representatives and the pride and ignorance of the Chinese. It ended in a combined attack by the British and French forces on Peking in 1860, in which the summer palace of the Emperor was laid in ashes. It was felt by many in Britain that this war was morally unjust and legally un-

tenable. Cobden brought forward a resolution in the House of Commons to this effect—that “the paper laid on the table failed to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measure resorted to.” Disraeli, Russell, Graham, and Gladstone among other well-known men spoke in favour of the motion, which was carried by a majority of sixteen votes. Palmerston, however, appealed to the country, and he was returned by a large majority, backed by the aggressive feelings of the British nation. He contended that “if the Chinese were right about the *Arrow*, they were wrong about something else; if legality did not exactly justify violence, it was at any rate required by *policy*.” He described this policy in the following way: “To maintain the rights, to defend the lives and properties of British subjects, to improve our relations with China, and in the selection and arrangement of these objects to perform the duty which we owed to the country.” A treaty was at last concluded in 1860 at Peking, the terms of which were toleration of Christianity, a revised tariff, payment of an indemnity, and resident ambassadors at Peking. In this way was China compelled to relinquish her narrow individualistic pretensions, and to abandon her long seclusion. Her present position we will consider further on, but meantime we will resume the story of Japan.

The difficulties of the Government of the Shogun were intensified by the actions of the foreign residents and of the representatives of the Foreign Powers. We need not, meantime, attempt to go into details, for which reference must be made to special publications, but one or two illustrations will indicate their nature and show most distinctly that the early experiences of the Japanese in matters connected with commerce and politics were of such an unfavourable nature as to intensify the bad impression which they had formed of foreigners from their conduct in matters relating to religion.

The inexperience of the Japanese in all matters relating to foreign trade, and the inadequacy of the arrangements

Difficulties of
Japan with
foreigners and
Foreign Powers.

made for the management of the Custom Houses, were, no doubt, very trying to the patience of the foreign merchants, and the difficulties of the position were increased by the unscrupulous conduct of many of the men who took part in foreign trade. At the time when the country was opened to foreign trade, and its economic conditions were suddenly upset by the fall of the feudal system, only the most adventurous and unscrupulous among the Japanese rushed to the open ports to take part in the scramble for trade, while the respectable business houses for some time declined the repeated requests of the authorities to establish branch houses. The foreign merchants, therefore, came chiefly into contact with persons who had no character to lose, or with the impoverished samurai who hoped to be able to improve their financial position, many of whom signally and irrevocably failed in the new and unfamiliar field of trade and industry through sheer lack of shrewdness in coping with their artful plebeian rivals. It was these conditions which gave the Japanese merchants the reputation of having a loose business morality, and, while no doubt there are still some bad characters to be found, it is largely the echo of these early times which we hear when we are told that the Japanese are not to be trusted in commercial matters.

As a class, the foreign merchants in Japan have maintained a reputation for honesty and fair dealing, but in the early days of foreign trade there were many among them whose conduct was very much to be blamed, and some of whom were able to accumulate fortunes by means which could not be defended on ethical grounds. Reference must be made to the papers presented to Parliament in 1860 on Japanese trade for details of some of the transactions of the foreign merchants, especially with regard to the purchase and shipment of gold coins, which the Japanese looked upon as neither more nor less than an act of robbery and an abuse of treaty provisions, which were intended only to secure a fair exchange of produce. The ratio of the values of gold and silver was about 15 to 1, but in Japan, owing to

the singular isolation of the country, it had been reduced to about 5 to 1. It has been truly said that "no such opportunity of profit without risk had ever tempted merchant adventurers outside the dreams of romance," and the Japanese soon exclaimed, with ample justice, that their country was being drained of its gold. The currency clause in the treaty was indefensible in theory and iniquitous in practice. The resentment it occasioned is even now not forgotten in Japan. The intricacies of the currency difficulties in those early days are too complicated to be explained in detail here, but it was a long time before the incongruities, which arose largely owing to the limited supply of Japanese coinage, were adjusted. Can it be wondered that the Government of the Shogun, set at defiance by foreign dealers and overreached by their own subjects, should have watched the conduct of both with indignation, and been further embittered by the consciousness of their helplessness to put a stop to it by the adoption of their usual summary and strong-handed measures. It is only right to say that the British Minister-Resident did all in his power to assist the Japanese Government in its difficulties, and for this brought himself into disfavour with his fellow-countrymen. In one of his despatches to one of the British Consular officials, after reviewing the difficulties which had arisen, he said: "But it is deplorable that to those difficulties which are inseparable from the situation and the nature of things in dealing with a government and people so long isolated from the rest of Europe, with strong prejudices opposed to any foreign intercourse or trade, and principles of political economy and national institutions antagonistic to our own, have now to be added obstacles scarcely less formidable, which foreigners themselves daily create, very unscrupulously and often very wantonly."

A recent writer¹ on Japan has given an account, chiefly from official documents, of some of the doings of the foreign merchants, which will give some idea of the unscrupulous conduct of the representatives of Western civilisation. The

¹ Major-General Sir Henry Colville, *The Allies*, p. 265, Appendix.

following, however, written by Sir Rutherford Alcock in 1859, is instructive: "Looking at the indiscreet conduct, to use the mildest term, of many, if not all the foreign residents, the innumerable and almost daily recurring causes of dispute and irritation between the Japanese officials of all grades and the foreign traders, both as to the nature of the trade they enter into and the mode in which they conduct it, open in many instances to grave objection, I cannot wonder at the existence of much ill-feeling. And when to these sources of irritation and animosity among the official classes are added the irregularities, the violence, and the disorders, which the continued scenes of drunkenness incidental to sea-ports, where sailors from men-of-war and merchant-ships are allowed to come on shore, sometimes in large numbers, I confess, so far from sharing in any sweeping conclusions to the prejudice of the Japanese, I think that the rarity of retaliative acts of violence on their part is a striking testimony in their favour. . . . Our own people and the foreigners generally take care that there shall be no lack of grounds of distrust and irritation. Utterly reckless of the future, intent only on profiting by the present moment to the utmost, regardless of treaties or future consequences, they are wholly engaged just now in shipping off all the gold currency of Japan. . . . Any co-operation with the diplomatic agents of their respective countries in their efforts to lay the foundations of permanent, prosperous, and mutually beneficial commerce between Japan and Western nations is out of the question. On the contrary, it is the merchants who, no doubt, create the most serious difficulties. It may be all very natural and what was to be anticipated, but it is not the less embarrassing. And in estimating the difficulties to be overcome in any attempt to improve the aspect of affairs, if the ill-disguised enmity of the governing classes and the indisposition of the Executive Government to give practical effect to the treaties be classed among the first and principal of these, the unscrupulous character and dealings of foreigners who frequent the ports for the purposes of trade

are only second, and scarcely inferior, in importance from the sinister character of the influence they exercise."

Many of the political difficulties, which in some cases had very serious results, were caused by the tactless thoughtlessness or the deliberate wickedness of some of the foreign residents. One of these was riding one day on the main road between Yokohama and Yedo when the *cortege* of the Daimyo of Satsuma, a long military line of more than a thousand men, appeared in sight. It was the rule that all who met one of these processions got off the road as a mark of respect. The foreigner either did not know the etiquette or he determined to assert his rights as a true-born Briton, and to disregard it, with the result that he was cut down by one of the Daimyo's retainers. The Japanese Government was very much distressed at this terrible occurrence, and did all in their power to capture the assailant, but without success. A demand was made upon them for the capture and punishment of the assassin, and for the payment of an indemnity of £100,000, and an additional sum by the Daimyo of Satsuma. The latter was not at all inclined to agree to such a demand, and the British admiral on the station was sent to enforce it. The town of Kagoshima, the capital of Satsuma, was almost entirely destroyed, and three valuable new steamers, which the Daimyo had recently purchased, were captured and destroyed. After this drastic lesson the money demanded was paid, but the murderer of the Englishman was not, and probably could not be surrendered, and never has been publicly known.

Another collision occurred with the Treaty Powers, which had much more serious results. The Daimyo of Choshu had taken sides with the Court of Kyoto against the more liberal policy of the Shogun's government. He had placed men-of-war as guards, and had erected batteries within his territory on the shores of the Shimonoseki straits, through which ships usually passed on their way to and from the Western ports. These fired several times on the ships of the Treaty Powers, and this led to reprisals. The Government

of the Shogun promised to take measures to reduce to a peaceful attitude the Daimyo of Choshu, but the growing political disturbances and the impoverishment of the treasury made it impossible to carry out its pacific design. Finally an expedition consisting of nine British ships-of-war, four Dutch, three French, and one steamer, chartered for the occasion to represent the United States, was sent against Shimonoseki, and, after it had made an attack, the Daimyo, finding it useless to contend against such overwhelming odds, gave in his absolute submission. An indemnity of three million dollars was enacted from Japan for damages and for expenses entailed by the operations against the Daimyo of Choshu. This action was an illustration of the overbearing diplomacy with which Western nations have conducted their intercourse with the East. It is, however, only fair to Earl Russell, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to say that he had sent a despatch to the British Envoy in Japan in which he said: "That Her Majesty's Government positively enjoin you not to undertake any military operation whatever in the interior of Japan; and they would indeed regret the adoption of any measures against the Japanese government and princes, even though limited to naval operations, unless absolutely required by self-defence." One redeeming feature in connection with this affair was the repayment, in response to a widely-expressed public sentiment, by the Congress of the United States in 1883 of 785,000 dollars, her share of the indemnity.

Writing of these and similar cases the late Lord Salisbury said: "These cases furnish very fair specimens of the nature of English foreign policy towards the weakest Powers. In principle it is overbearing, exacting, pushing every right to the extremest limit, and where the existence of a right is doubtful, cynically throwing the sword into the balance. In execution these principles are carried out with no diplomatic courtesy, and with no consideration of the feelings or the wounded honour of those to whom they are applied, but rather with an ostentatious insolence. It is throughout a

tone by which the weak are made to feel their weakness, to drink the bitter, bitter cups of inferiority to the very dregs. Admiral Kuper's observation to the Japanese ambassadors admirably expresses the attitude generally adopted by the English Foreign Office, whom he was serving, to every weaker Power with whom they may come into collision ; 'You must remember that we are one of the first nations in the world, who, instead of meeting civilised people as you think yourselves, in reality encounter barbarians.' This is of itself not a character which the English people will be gratified to learn that they have acquired. But it becomes still less satisfactory when we come to consider the other qualities by which it is supposed to be accompanied and set off. Bullying the weak is not an amiable characteristic ; but whether it is to be looked on simply with dislike or with bitter contempt depends upon whether it is reserved exclusively for the weak."¹ Reference has been made to these cases, not for the purpose of opening old sores, but because these and similar incidents must be borne in mind when we are considering their results on the Japanese national policy. The Government and the people did not fail to take to heart the lessons which their experiences with foreigners were calculated to teach.

The immediate lesson of the Satsuma and Choshu incidents was that the Daimyos of these two powerful clans saw the folly of resisting Western armaments, and they determined to take advantage of Western appliances and methods. For the future they were to be counted on, not only to oppose the moribund Government of the Shogun, but also to withstand the folly of trying to expel the foreigners who by treaty with an unauthorised agent had been admitted into the country. The harsh dealings of the Foreign Powers had thus a very direct result on hastening the restoration of the Imperial sovereignty.

Another noteworthy incident deserves to be mentioned. The British representative had applied to his Government

¹ *Essays: Foreign Politics*, p. 382.

for a military guard to protect British interests in Yokohama, and with the consent of the Japanese Government two companies of an infantry regiment took up their residence in 1864 in barracks on the foreign settlement. They were afterwards joined by a French contingent, and they remained in the place a good many years. While they gave a sense of security to nervous foreign residents, they were looked upon by the Japanese as a blot on the honour of their country, to be got rid of as soon as possible. Probably the presence of these troops did more than anything else to spur on the Japanese to efforts which would so improve the conditions of their country that they would be no longer necessary.

CHAPTER II

RISE OF JAPAN AS A WORLD-POWER

IT is universally recognised that the rise of Japan to the position of one of the great nations of the world is the political wonder of the latter half of the nineteenth century, and that her success has been phenomenal. When the term "success" is used in this way, it is taken to mean all that has led to her recognition as a nation on a plane of equality with the other great nations of the world, and little attention is given to the disadvantages which have attended that success. Our present purpose is not to enter on a philosophical discussion on Progress, or a statement of the economic or political conditions which accompany it; all that is possible is an indication of the circumstances which led to the recognition of Japan by the Great Powers of the world.

The signature of the treaties with the representatives of the Foreign Powers intensified the difficulties of the Shogun and of his Government, and, in order to put them off for a certain time until conditions were riper, an embassy was despatched to America and Europe to ask for the postponement of the dates when the treaties would come into force. Attached to this embassy were several men who afterwards became distinguished, and among them Fukazawa Yukichi, the record of whose experiences is most interesting. On his return to Japan Mr. Fukazawa published his notes in book form, and they were eagerly read throughout the length and breadth

Restoration of
Imperial
sovereignty.

of the country. Indeed, no book contributed so much to open the eyes of his countrymen, who had been till then in utter ignorance of European affairs.

The embassy was so far successful that the opening of the ports of Hyogo and Niigata was postponed for a period of five years, from January 1863. All the efforts of the Government, however, did not allay the popular feeling against them. They had acted without the authority of the Emperor, and their doings stirred up intense indignation at Kyoto and throughout the country, which from one end to the other resounded with the cry, "Honour the Emperor (Mikado) and expel the barbarian." The Shogun was denounced as a traitor, and the signature of the treaties hastened the downfall of his government. It has been contended that neither constitutional law nor practice prohibited the Shogun from entering into treaty relations with other Powers, but it is probable that there was no law on the subject, as such an event was not anticipated, while, if certain events in practice seemed to justify the contention, they only proved that the Shoguns had successfully kept the Mikados in the background in any such arrangements. There can be no doubt that in preparing and carrying out the Restoration, the Mikado's party held that the Shogun's assumption of the right to make treaties with Foreign Powers was just as much a usurpation on his part as was his exercise of authority in purely internal affairs. The feeling against him increased, as it was felt, especially by the leaders of the most powerful clans, that their claims to authority were as strong as his. It is impossible to state all the motives which influenced them, but the ostensible reason was the wish to return to the old ideal when the Emperor was not only the source of power but also the head of the actual government, and from a strong desire for national unity. The authority of the Shogun and the feudal system were opposed to this ideal, and their overthrow became a necessity before the nation could be consolidated under a strong centralised government which would be able to take

advantage of the Western ideas taught by Arai, Sakuma, Yoshida, and others.

The advent of Sir Harry Parkes as British Minister in 1865 exercised an important modifying influence upon the situation. The studies of Satow and other members of the foreign legations and consulates made clear to the foreign ministers the actual conditions of affairs, and they realised that the power of the Shogun was doomed. It was also perceived that the treaties might cease to be valid unless they obtained the sanction of the Emperor, if indeed they were valid at all without that sanction. A united naval demonstration off Hyogo (which now practically forms part of the great port of Kobe) had the desired result, and the Imperial consent was given in a single curt sentence. From that time the attitude of the Court of Kyoto towards foreigners underwent a conspicuous and lasting change. The Emperor Komei died early in 1867, and was succeeded by the present Emperor Mutsuhito, then in his fifteenth year. The last of the Tokugawa Shoguns (who is still alive) was induced to surrender all authority into the hands of the young monarch. He afterwards, under pressure, rose in revolt, but was defeated after severe fighting. Early in 1868 the Emperor signified to the representatives of the Foreign Powers his willingness to receive them in person. The event was without precedent in the long records of Japanese history. Hitherto the monarch had rarely been seen even by his own exalted officers of State. The reception was marked by a deplorable incident. While Sir Harry Parkes was riding to the palace at Kyoto, he was attacked by fanatical *samurai*, and several of his escort were severely wounded. This was the last real outburst of the ancient rancour. The isolated attacks on foreigners which have occurred since have almost invariably been due to special causes, and not to the old blind indiscriminate hatred.

The immediate result of the interview of the foreign ministers with the Emperor was the conversion of the members of the Court of Kyoto, and they became good

friends with the men whom they had hitherto looked upon as unworthy to be in Japan. It was determined not only that foreign intercourse should be encouraged but that Chinese customs, which had hitherto been the sole foundation of Japanese civilisation, should henceforth give way to European, and that Western science and arts should be studied in order that Japan might become a member of the comity of nations in terms of perfect equality. The Emperor emerged from the seclusion in which his ancestors had lived for centuries, and it was determined that henceforth he should take an active part in the government of the country and be as accessible as European sovereigns. To emphasise the change, Yedo, the capital of the Tokugawa Shoguns, became the capital of the Empire instead of Kyoto, the old seat of government, and its name was changed to Tokyo, meaning "Eastern capital." The Emperor was supported by those statesmen of both parties whose intellectual superiority had caused them to be recognised as leaders, and they united in adopting the modern progressive policy which ever since has guided the Japanese Empire. It soon became evident to them that national development and peace could never be secured while feudalism existed, as the clan system was fatal to national unity, and they recognised the necessity for a reconstruction of the machinery of government and of administration. Matters were brought to a point by the presentation to the Emperor of an elaborate memorial signed by the Daimyos of Choshu, Satsuma, Tosa, Hizen, Kaga and others offering him the lists of their possessions and men. The Emperor accepted the offer thus made, and on the 5th of July 1869 a decree was issued, which stated that His Majesty, from a desire to assimilate the civil and military classes and to place them on a footing of equality, abolished the designation of Court nobles (*Kuge*) and territorial princes (*Shoku*, more commonly called *Daimyo*), and replaced them by that of noble families (*Kwuzoku*). By another decree the Government reserved to themselves the approval of all appointments or offices held under the late

daimyos, another obvious step towards the subordination of all the local administrations to that of the central Government. Thus, almost at one stroke a system of government which had existed for centuries was abolished, although the forces which brought about the change had been at work for a considerable time.

For some years after the Restoration of the Imperial Power the greater part of the thought, energy, and means of

Guiding
principles.

Japanese statesmen was exerted in adapting the institutions and administration of their country to the new conditions which had arisen, and little attention was paid to external politics. It was only after the relations of Japan with foreign countries had developed, and when it was recognised that Japan would only attain a position of equality with other nations when she had placed herself on a level with them not only in education, industry, and commerce, but also in the arts of war, that external politics assumed a position of importance.

In April 1868, the year after the accession to the throne of the present Emperor, one of his first official acts of a public nature was to swear solemnly the following memorable oath, known in Japan history as "the Imperial Oath of five articles."

The five articles were as follows:—

1. Deliberative assemblies shall be established, and all measures of government shall be decided by public opinion.

2. All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the plan of the government.

3. Officials, civil and military, and all the common people shall, as far as possible, be allowed to fulfil their first desires, so that there may not be any discontent among them.

4. Uncivilised customs of former times shall be broken through, and everything shall be based upon the just and equitable principles of nature.

5. Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the whole world, so that the welfare of the Empire may be promoted

(or in order that its status may be raised ever higher and higher).

These five principles have been clearly kept in mind in all that has been done in Japan, but the concluding clause of the last of them shows the aim which has always been recognised as that for which all efforts were put forth, namely that the welfare of the Empire might be promoted, and its status among the nations of the world raised ever higher and higher. Some of the actions which were the result were put down by foreigners to national conceit, and no doubt in some cases the Japanese were led to attempt things for which their past experience had not fitted them, and which not infrequently resulted in failure, but it was a noble national conceit or rather ambition, without which little progress would have been made.

The most important lesson which the members of the embassy learned from their observations in America and Europe was that, if their country was ever to be recognised on a position of equality with Western countries, it would require to adopt many of the institutions of Western civilisation. They set about this with great eagerness and intelligence, and great developments took place in education, administration, public works, industry, and commerce. At first many experiments were made in a somewhat haphazard manner, with the result that not a few of them failed, and this led to a reaction. As their knowledge and experience increased, they made out their plans with great care, and carried them out with deliberation and efficiency. The methods of administration of the Government were reformed, the laws were codified, and the administration of justice brought into harmony with Western ideas. Most important of all, however, from the point of view of national evolution, was the growth of an army drilled and equipped in foreign style, and of a navy which went on increasing, not only in size but also in efficiency, till its exploits excited the admiration of the world.

Developments
in Japan.

The Japanese were not long in recognising that the treaties which had been imposed on them by the representatives of foreign Governments infringed their independence, and were a blot on their national name. Under these treaties they had no power to regulate their customs tariff, and they had no control over the foreigners resident in their country, these being placed under the direct jurisdiction of the representatives of their respective Governments. Both of these points were considered derogatory to the dignity of Japan, and they determined that they should be altered as soon as possible. The date fixed for the revision of the treaties was 1st of July 1872, and it was recognised that an important epoch was approaching. In view of the discussions which were certain to take place, the members of the Japanese Cabinet felt it was their duty to make the Governments of the Treaty Powers acquainted with the changes which had taken place in the country since the treaties were signed, and to explain the existing conditions and the policy which it was intended to carry out.

The chief of the embassy was Iwakura, the Junior Prime Minister, and with him, with the title of Associate Ambassadors, were Kido, Sangi; Okubo, Minister of Finance; Ito, Vice-Minister of Public Works; and Yamaguchi, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs. There were, in addition, a number of secretaries, commissioners, and other officials, so that the embassy attained considerable dimensions as was becoming, considering the importance and variety of the functions which it was expected to perform. A record of the doings of that embassy affords very interesting reading, but meantime we can only note that it did not succeed in its main object, namely in bringing about the revision of the treaties, but it collected a great deal of information on many points, relating to government and national institutions, which no doubt was largely used in shaping the policy which has since been followed.

The story of the revision of the treaties which Japan had

made with Western Powers is a long and interesting one, and some points in it are not particularly creditable to the representatives of these Powers.

When it has been written by competent hands, it will afford a curious commentary on the

Revision of
Treaties.

Christianity professed by Western nations and practised by their representatives. I have, in another place,¹ given an outline of the negotiations, and some further details regarding them will be found in a well-arranged British Blue Book (*Correspondence respecting the Revision of Treaty Arrangements between Great Britain and Japan, August 1894*), to which those who wish to study the subject must be referred. That document, to those who know the events of the previous twenty years reveals a good deal of condensed history and also some of the ways of international diplomacy. It conceals the cynical and sometimes even insolent conduct of some of the representatives of the Foreign Powers, who continued to look upon Japan as an interesting country from some points of view, but who were not inclined to believe that the Japanese were ever likely to attain a high position in commerce or industry, or in military and naval power.

A new race of diplomatists, however, was gradually getting into office in Japan, and the members of it were, to a large extent, free from the preconceived ideas of their predecessors, and were able to estimate at their proper value the great advances made by the Japanese in every department of national life, and it is satisfactory to record the fact that the British representative took the lead in the matter. In March 1894 the question of the revision of treaties which had been so long at issue found definite solution in the negotiations between Lord Kimberley, represented by the Hon. Francis Bertie, Under-Secretary of State on the one part, and the Japanese Minister, Viscount Aoki, on the other. On the 16th July the work was completed by the signature of a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and Japan. Article XVIII of this Treaty

¹ *Dai Nippon*, pp. 316-327.

provides that "the several foreign settlements in Japan possessing extra-territorial rights shall be incorporated with the respective Japanese communes," while by Article XX it is stipulated that the present treaty, from the date it comes into force, shall be substituted for all previous conventions, "and in consequence the jurisdiction then exercised by British Courts in Japan, and all the exceptional privileges, exemptions, and immunities then enjoyed by British subjects as a part of, or appurtenant to, such jurisdiction, shall absolutely and without notice cease and determine, and thereafter all such jurisdiction shall be assumed and exercised by Japanese courts." The Blue Book contains memoranda by Viscount Aoki and the representatives of the British Government explaining the various points in the treaty. The Japanese Minister said: "The treaty opens to Japan a new era in her foreign relations, for it proclaims for the first time its full and legitimate reception into the fellowship of nations. To Great Britain it signifies free access to the whole interior of the Japanese Empire in the usual terms of European international intercourse."

The example given by Great Britain was gradually followed by the other Treaty Powers, and it was agreed, subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions, that from July 1899 Japanese tribunals should assume jurisdiction over every person, of whatever nationality, within the confines of Japan, and that the whole country should be thrown open to foreigners. The foreign settlers were, as a rule, opposed to the revision of treaties and to the giving up of the privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed, but when they saw that revision was inevitable they accepted the position and showed their willingness to co-operate with the Japanese authorities. On June 30, 1899, an Imperial Rescript was issued in the following terms:—

"Assisted by the surviving influence of the virtues of Our ancestors, it has been our good fortune to uphold the reign of sovereign rule and disseminate the benefits of orderly administration, resulting at home in the increased prosperity

of the nation, and abroad in the strengthening of Our relations with Foreign Powers. As to the revision of treaties, Our long-cherished inspiration, exhaustive plans, and repeated negotiations have, at last, been crowned by a satisfactory settlement with the Treaty Powers. Now that the date assigned for the operation of the revised treaties is drawing near, it is a matter for heartfelt joy and satisfaction that, while, on the one hand, the responsibilities devolving upon the country cannot but increase Our friendship with the Treaty Powers, on the other it has been placed on a foundation stronger than ever.

“We expect that Our loyal subjects, ever ready to discharge public duties, will, in obedience to Our wishes, conform to the national polity of enlightenment and progress, and be united as one man in treating the people of far-off lands with cordiality, and in thereby endeavouring to uphold the character of this nation and enhance the glory of the Empire.

“Further, we command Our Ministers of State to undertake the responsibility of putting the revised treaties into operation in such a manner that, by means of proper supervision over their subordinates, and the exercise of prudence and discretion, both Our born subjects and strangers may be enabled equally to participate in the benefits accruing from the new system, and that the friendly relations with the Treaty Powers may be permanently cemented.”

All classes in the country united to carry out the wishes expressed in the Imperial Rescript. The Premier and other Ministers of State issued instructions to the effect that the responsibility now devolved on the Government and the duty on the people of enabling foreigners to reside confidently and contentedly in every part of the country. Probably the most significant sign of the change which had taken place in Japanese opinion was the action of the chief Buddhist prelates in addressing to the priests and parishioners in the dioceses injunctions pointing out that freedom of conscience being now guaranteed by the Con-

stitution, men professing alien creeds must be treated as courteously as the followers of Buddhism, and must enjoy the same rights and privileges. The confidence which the Foreign Powers placed in the good faith of the Japanese people has been fully justified, and their relations with the government of Japan have been of a cordial nature. No doubt some questions have arisen about details, and some individuals may have thought that they had some grievances, but, on the whole, foreigners in Japan have greater freedom and as much safety as they would have in any other civilised country in the world. The most important privileges conceded to them under the revised treaties were:—(1) They might trade, travel, and reside in any part of Japan, and enjoy full protection for their persons and property; (2) they might use the law courts on the same terms as Japanese subjects; (3) they were accorded full religious freedom; (4) they were exempted from any taxes except those imposed on Japanese subjects; (5) they were exempted from military service, military contributions, and forced loans; (6) they were free to engage in all legitimate trades and mechanical operations, subject to the provisions of the law; (7) they might enter into partnership with Japanese or foreigners, or become partners in joint-stock companies; (8) their ships and cargoes might come to all ports open to foreign commerce without paying any higher duties or charges than those paid by Japanese subjects; (9) they were exempted from all transit dues, and they were guaranteed equality of treatment with Japanese in regard to drawbacks, exportation, and warehousing facilities, but the coasting trade was reserved to Japanese vessels, except in the case of the existing open ports; (10) they were allowed to lease land and to take mortgages on it. These facilities gave opportunities for great developments of foreign trade and industry in Japan, and they have been taken advantage of to a considerable extent.

In the previous chapter¹ we have sketched the early

¹ P. 23.

relations of Japan with Korea and China. After the Restoration in 1867-8 the Korean Government refused to acknowledge the Mikado as Emperor of Japan, or to have any official relations with his Govern-^{Relations with Korea and China.}ment, which had given so much encouragement to Western barbarians. In the following year three Commissioners were appointed for the purpose of investigating the internal conditions and foreign relations of Korea, as it was represented that the secret designs of Russia, coupled with Chinese control in the peninsula, would endanger the national existence of Korea, and that it was of vital importance to Japan that measures be taken for its preservation. An envoy was sent in 1872, with two men-of-war, to open negotiations with the Korean Government, but he returned unsuccessful. Similar attempts by France and the United States in 1866 and 1871 had also failed. The obstinacy of the Koreans caused great irritation to some sections of the Japanese, especially to those of the Satsuma clan, who tried to insist upon an expedition being sent for their chastisement, but the majority of the Japanese Cabinet voted against such a measure. Iwakura, the head of the embassy which had just returned from Europe, became the chief of the peace party, which declared that the country was unprepared for war, and that commercial ruin would be the result of attempting it; the counsels of that party prevailed, and the military ardour of the samurai was turned into another direction.

The first important international question in which Japan was involved after the opening of the country to foreign intercourse arose indirectly with China, through circumstances connected with the Liu-Kiu (Loo Choo) Islands and Formosa. The former had a shadowy connection with Japan, and received an annual visit of one junk from Satsuma to obtain the marks of nominal vassalage, while the island of Formosa was to the Japanese a far-off land of fairy tales and adventure, in which centuries before Japanese buccaneers had won fame and glory. Indeed, as already

mentioned, in earlier historical times Japanese pirates had made themselves unpleasantly known in the Chinese seas generally. It was, therefore, not to be wondered at that a proposal to send a warlike expedition to Formosa should not only raise the enthusiasm of the fiery samurai, but also that the Government should take the opportunity of using it as a safety-valve for the purpose of cooling their warlike ardour. On more than one occasion shipwrecked Japanese and Liu-Kiuins, who had been cast on the shores of Formosa, had been murdered by the wild aboriginal tribes, and in 1874 an expedition was sent to Formosa for the purpose of chastising these tribes and acquiring guarantees for the future security of Japanese ships and seamen. No doubt it was also intended as a means of outlet for the discontent of the samurai, especially those of the Satsuma clan, and of directing their attention away from home politics. The central Government also saw in it an opportunity for increasing the regular army, and thus of strengthening their position and controlling the samurai class. The expedition was placed under the command of a younger brother of Saigo, who had distinguished himself during the war of the Restoration, and it was completely successful in its object. The Formosan tribes were defeated, the Japanese troops returned in triumph in December 1874, and an indemnity was obtained from the Chinese Government for the expense incurred by Japan.

As soon, however, as the Formosan question was settled, General Kuroda and Mr. (now Count) Inouyé, escorted by several men-of-war, were despatched in December 1875 to Korea, and after considerable difficulty they succeeded in concluding a treaty of amity and friendship on February 26, 1876. By this treaty, which has much political significance, it was declared that "Korea, being an independent state, enjoys the same sovereign rights as Japan," and the Chinese claim of suzerainty was formally ignored. It was arranged that permanent embassies be established at Seoul and Tokyo, and that two ports be opened to Japanese trade.

The Consuls of Japan were permitted to reside at open ports and administer justice to Japanese. Warned by the experience of China, and strengthened by the advice of Japan, the importation of opium into Korea was strictly forbidden. In 1882 Commodore Shufeldt, acting for the Government of the United States, made the first treaty of a Western nation with the Land of the Morning Calm, as Korea was called in the Far East. It was this treaty which brought Korea into touch with Western nations, as several others soon followed the example of the United States, and it was not long before a considerable number of Koreans found their way to America and Europe.

The civil war which broke out in Japan in the beginning of 1877, and usually known as the "Satsuma Rebellion," had the effect of consolidating the central Government of Japan and increasing its military and naval power, with the natural result that it gave the Japanese Government more confidence in dealing with international questions as they arose, especially those affecting Korea and China.

In all the negotiations which were carried out by Japan and the other powers, Korea was treated as an independent nation, with which diplomacy was to be conducted in terms of perfect international equality. But, although Korea had broken off the slight bonds of her vassalage to Japan, she still clung to China's suzerainty, and China retained a controlling influence in her affairs, both foreign and domestic, and this was always exercised in the direction of obstruction to improvements and of conservatism generally. The Japanese, on the other hand, wished to see developments in commerce and industrial undertakings, and in all that was necessary to make them successful. They were not always fortunate in their methods or in those who represented them. Unscrupulous men in search of fortunes, without regard to the means they employed, treated the natives in a very offensive manner, with the consequence that the traditional hatred of the Japanese was revived, and in 1882 the Japanese Legation at the capital was attacked and burned by a mob ;

the Minister and his staff escaped with difficulty to the coast, twenty miles distant, where they were rescued by a British man-of-war, which happened to be surveying in the neighbourhood. The Legation was very soon rebuilt, but from that time Japan claimed and exercised the right of maintaining a force of troops in the capital. This right was recognised by China, and in 1885 a convention was arranged between the two countries, by which it was agreed that both should have the privilege of stationing troops in Korea, but that due notice should be given by each to the other of any intention to exercise it whenever it became necessary.

For nine years there were constant difficulties between Japan and China, for which it is impossible to apportion the responsibility. Matters were brought to a crisis in 1894, when a serious insurrection broke out in Korea, and the Government was unable to cope with it. The Japanese Government saw that it was necessary to put an end to the misrule and corruption, which rendered Korea a scene of constant disturbance and offered invitations to foreign aggression, which, if carried out, would be a source of danger to Japan. Russia especially was to be feared, and the Japanese recognised that if that Power got possession of Korea, the narrow straits which divided their country from Korea would not be sufficient protection from the aggression of the great northern Power, of which they had already reason to be afraid.

It is not necessary to enter meantime into a discussion of all the political or other questions involved, or even to defend the Japanese on all points from an ethical point of view. European Powers are not in a position to criticise their action, as nearly all they do in the Far East is dictated by pure selfishness—national or personal—which is generally prompted by the ambition of their representatives, who recognise that an active policy, if successful, leads to official promotion. Even the autocracy of the Czar is powerless before the influence of the Russian bureaucracy. The Imperial Rescript issued by the Emperor of Japan on

declaring war with China intimated that, while Korea was an independent state, she was first introduced into the family of nations by the advice and under the guidance of Japan, but that it had been China's habit to designate Korea as her dependency, and both openly and secretly to interfere with her domestic affairs. On account of disturbances in Korea, China despatched troops thither, alleging that her purpose was to afford succour to her dependent state, and in virtue of a treaty concluded with Korea in 1882, and, looking to contingencies, the Japanese sent a military force to that country. The Japanese Government invited that of China to co-operate with them in the maintenance of peace, not only in Korea but in the East generally, but China, advancing various reasons, declined Japan's proposals.

We need not follow the details of the negotiations or even inquire into the sufficiency of the reasons given by Japan for her action, for, as Professor Chamberlain remarks : "Though Japan evidently lacked moral justification for her proceeding, the science of statecraft, as understood in the present imperfect stage of human culture, must approve her action." No doubt the Japanese saw that it was necessary that they should show their strength, and their quarrel with China afforded the opportunity. On this subject Captain Brinkley, one of the greatest authorities on things Japanese, says : "The approximate cause of the war is readily discernible. China's attitude towards Korea, her fitful interference in the little kingdom's affairs, her exercise of suzerain rights while uniformly disclaiming suzerain responsibilities, created a situation intolerable to Japan, who had concluded a treaty with Korea on the avowed basis of the latter's independence. A consenting party to that treaty, China nevertheless ignored it in practice, partly because she despised the Japanese, and resented their apostasy from Oriental traditions, but chiefly because her ineffable faith in her own superiority to outside nations absolved her from any obligation to respect their conventions, and the struggle was therefore between Japanese progress and Chinese

stagnation. At the same time Japan's material and political interests in Korea outweighed those of all other States put together. In asserting her commercial rights she could not possibly avoid collision with a Power behaving as China behaved. But there was another force pushing the two States into the arena; they had to do battle for the supremacy of the Far East. China, of course, did not regard the issue in that light. It was part of her immemorial faith in her own transcendence that the possibility of being challenged should never occur to her. But Japan's case was different. Her position might be compared to that of a lad who had to win a standing for himself in a new school by beating the head boy of his form. China was the head boy of the East-Asian form. Her huge dimensions, her vast resources, her apparently inexhaustible 'staying power' entitled her to that position, and outside nations accorded it to her. To worst her meant to leap at one bound to the hegemony of the Far East. That was the quickest exit from the shadow of Orientalism, and Japan took it. This is not a suggestion that she forced a fight upon her neighbour merely for the purpose of establishing her own superiority. What it means is that the causes which led to the fight had their remote origin in the different attitudes of the two countries towards Western civilisation. Having cordially embraced that civilisation, Japan could not consent to be included in the contempt with which China regarded it; and, having set out to climb to the level of Occidental nations, she had to begin by emerging from the ranks of Oriental nations." These remarks of Captain Brinkley should be carefully kept in mind when an estimate is being formed by Western writers regarding the actions of Japan. As we shall see later on, they require to be specially remembered when we are considering recent events in Korea.

We cannot enter into the details of the war which followed. Both the Japanese army and navy did splendid work, and not only showed that they had profited by the instruction

which they had received in Western methods, but also that they fully realised the nature of the arguments which had the greatest weight with the Foreign Powers. The skill of the Japanese generals, the bravery ^{War with China.} of the soldiers, and the perfection of all the arrangements for the supply of materials, combined, no doubt, with the unprepared state of the Chinese, led to easy victories by the Japanese, in which the navy took a prominent part. The Japanese troops were planning the invasion of Manchuria when China asked the great Powers of Europe to intervene for the purpose of compelling Japan to conclude peace. Great Britain and the United States, acting independently, tendered their good offices to both belligerents; but the Japanese Government, while appreciating these friendly overtures, declined to accept them, for the reason that the war had "not made sufficient progress to ensure a satisfactory result of negotiation," since China had not yet found herself "in a position to approach Japan directly on the subject of peace."

After the fall of Port Arthur the Chinese Government took the initiative in making overtures for peace, and after some delay over the preliminary negotiations an armistice was arranged, and the plenipotentiaries of the two Powers met at Hiroshima, where the Japanese Imperial staff and Cabinet were then established. In Japan's first draft of the treaty of peace China was asked to recognise the absolute independence of Korea; to cede that portion of the southern province of Shengking (Liao-Tung Peninsula) lying between the rivers Yalu and Liao up to 41° North latitude, as well as Formosa and the Pescadores Islands; to pay an indemnity of three hundred million taels; to conclude a new commercial treaty, based upon existing treaties of China with European nations; to grant to the Japanese in China the rights and privileges accorded to the most favoured nation until the new commercial treaty should come into force; to open seven new ports and four waterways to foreign trade; to modify the customs regulations and especially the *likin*

system ; and to grant to the Japanese the right freely to engage in all kinds of manufacturing industries in China. As a guarantee for the faithful performance of the treaty, Mukden and Wei-hai-wei were to be temporarily occupied by Japanese troops. After some negotiation, and the discussion of counter-proposals by the Chinese plenipotentiaries, Japan modified her original draft in certain particulars. The cession of territory in Shengking was decreased ; the indemnity was to be reduced to two hundred million Kuping taels ; the ports and waterways to be opened to foreign trade were to be reduced to four and two respectively. Japan also agreed to occupy only Wei-hai-wei as a guarantee, but refused to admit into the treaty any clause concerning arbitration. Further modifications were asked by the Chinese, but they were told that the demands which had been formulated were final and were no longer open to discussion. The Japanese ultimatum was accepted, and the treaty of peace was signed at Shimonoseki on April 17, 1895.

The ratifications were to be exchanged at Chifu ; but on April 22, Russia, France, and Germany, acting in alliance, advised Japan to restore the whole territory of the Liao-Tung Peninsula, as "the Japanese occupation of that territory not only endangered the existence of the Chinese capital and of Korean independence, but would upset the peace of the Orient." Although this Note was quite polite, there could be no mistaking its meaning, and the suggestion was meant to have the force of a command. The formidable squadrons of the three great Powers were concentrated in the north of China and prepared for any emergency, while the naval forces of Japan, after the contest with China, were unable to cope with the fresh squadrons of the three Powers. Some of the Japanese officers insisted on forcibly resisting the interference of the triple alliance, while some diplomatists proposed to submit the territorial question to an international conference of the great Powers of Europe and America. The Japanese Government solved the difficulty with their usual self-restraint by accepting the proposals of the three Powers,

although this must have been a severe blow to their national pride. An Imperial Rescript was published simultaneously with the ratified treaty in which the Emperor, proclaiming his desire to do all that in him lay to serve the cause of peace, "yielded to the dictates of magnanimity and accepted the advice of the three Powers." In accordance with the terms of the Peace of Shimonoseki, a new commercial treaty between Japan and China was signed at Peking, on July 21, 1896. It recognised the consular jurisdiction of Japan in China, and guaranteed to Japan most-favoured-nation treatment in all that concerns consular jurisdiction, commerce, industry, and navigation; but did not guarantee similar treatment to Chinese in Japan, except as to diplomatic agents.

Important as were the direct results of the war with China, as these were secured by treaty, the indirect results were, from a political point of view, even more important. Results of War
with China.

The action of the three Powers which intervened between Japan and China soon showed that they were animated by purely selfish motives, and subsequent events are illustrations of the morality which too often guides Western Powers in their dealings with Eastern peoples. Under the pretext of "leasing," Germany seized Kiao-chau, and asserted her claim over the greater part of the Shantung province, and Russia practically annexed the Liao-Tung Peninsula; so that within four years of the time of her expulsion from the territories belonging to her by right of conquest, Japan saw those territories appropriated by the very Powers that expelled her. The Japanese recognised that something more than peaceful progress in Western industries and methods of administration was necessary to win the respect of the nations of Europe and America, and the immediate result of the arbitrary conduct of Russia, France, and Germany was an increase in the belligerent force of Japan and a determination to make the army and navy strong enough to assert the rights of the country. A large part of

the indemnity received from China as well as the revenue from increased taxation was spent in warlike preparations, and in the development of those institutions and organisations which would add to the strength of Japan. The action of the European Powers thus reacted on themselves not only by raising the military spirit in Japan, but was also the cause of inspiring her with the ambition to become the champion of the down-trodden countries of the East, and by her counsel and example and, if necessary, her assistance enable them to obtain the same measure of independence and power as herself.

Even the spirit of the Chinese Court was roused when they saw their territories being filched from them, piece by piece, but the great body of the people were apathetic. Steps, however, were taken to form volunteer associations for the purpose of resisting foreign aggression. From the want of proper control these rapidly assumed the form of an anti-foreign rebellion, which led, in 1900, to cruel excesses in the provinces of Shantung and Chili, and placed the foreign communities in Tientsin and Peking in positions of extreme peril. During the troubles which ensued the Japanese won increased respect among the nations of the world, and proved that they were able to bear themselves under very trying circumstances in a manner which compared favourably with that of the representatives of other nations. When the foreign Legations in Peking were defending themselves against overwhelming odds, the Japanese contingent of the foreign troops in China came to their rescue and won the admiration of the world by their bravery, skill, and good conduct. It has been truly said that "when all alike were tried in the same fire the peoples of Europe learned to their humiliation that the largest measure of restraint was exercised, not by white men, but by the soldiers of an Oriental Power."

As Great Britain was the first Foreign Power to recognise the freedom of Japan from foreign jurisdiction, she was also the first to follow that up by a treaty of alliance which

bound the Britain of the East to that of the West with more than the ties of diplomatic friendship. The advisability of such an alliance had been gradually impressing itself on the minds both of British and Japanese statesmen as a very natural result of the political developments which had taken place in the Far East, and among others no one had recognised more clearly than Marquis Ito that the interests of Great Britain and Japan would be served by an alliance which, while actuated solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the Far East, and to secure equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations, would at the same time ensure that the Governments of Great Britain and Japan would co-operate in all matters directly affecting these interests. On January 30, 1902, a treaty of alliance, defensive and offensive, was signed by Lord Lansdowne and Baron Hayashi, representing Great Britain and Japan respectively—a step which may be looked upon as the final stage in the recognition of Japan as one of the Great Powers of the world.

Anglo-Japanese
Alliance.

The High Contracting Parties to the Treaty mutually recognised the independence of China and Korea, and declared themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country. Having in view, however, their special interests (of which those of Great Britain relate principally to China, while Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China, is interested in a peculiar degree politically, as well as commercially and industrially, in Korea), the High Contracting Parties recognise that it will be admissible for either of them to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other Power, or by disturbances arising in China or Korea, and necessitating the intervention of either of the High Contracting Parties for the protection of the lives and property of its subjects. It was stipulated further, that if either Great Britain or Japan, in

defence of their respective interests as above described, should become involved in war with another Power, the other will maintain a strict neutrality, and use its efforts to prevent other Powers from joining in hostilities against its ally. Further, in the above event, if any other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against that ally, the other High Contracting Party will come to its assistance, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it. It was also agreed that neither of the High Contracting Parties will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the interests above described, and also that, whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, these interests are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly.

In an explanatory letter to Sir Claude Macdonald, the British Minister in Tokyo, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated that this Agreement might be regarded as the outcome of the events which have taken place in the Far East, and of the part taken by Great Britain and Japan in dealing with them. After explaining the various Articles in the agreement he concludes by saying that "His Majesty's Government trust that the Agreement may be found of mutual advantage to the two countries, that it will make for the preservation of peace, and that should peace unfortunately be broken, it will have the effect of restricting the area of hostilities." This hope has, so far, been fulfilled.

Treaty relations between Japan and Siam were first established in 1887, by which arrangements were made for the exchange of ministers and the establishment of consulates, and for the encouragement of commerce and navigation. As both contracting countries then strongly aspired to judicial autonomy and to the development of civilisation on Western lines, a provisional agreement was come to, by which, while consular jurisdiction was not recognised, it was provided that,

Japan and
Siam.

until a complete convention should be made, the subjects of each Power should have in the dominions of the other full security of person and property, and the right to "be treated in a fair and equitable manner." In 1899 a new treaty was concluded, by which time extra-territorial jurisdiction had been abolished in Japan, although it was still retained in Siam, and the new treaty recognised the territorial law of both countries. By a separate agreement, however, Japan secured consular jurisdiction in Siam, except as to the laws of succession and marriage, until the laws of that country should be completed, and further stipulated for reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment in commerce and navigation. A striking feature of the treaty is a provision for arbitration, in case the contracting parties cannot agree as to the interpretation of the treaty provisions.

The relations between Japan and Russia date from the end of the eighteenth century. Catherine II. took advantage of the opportunity that the sending home of a Japanese wreck by the Governor of Siberia afforded. He arrived in Yezo in September 1792, and asked the feudal lord of Matsumaye to enter into diplomatic and commercial relations. The latter answered in the negative, but suggested that commercial intercourse might be opened at Nagasaki, the only port to which foreigners were admitted. The Governor, however, did not proceed to Nagasaki. The Emperor Alexander renewed the effort initiated by Catherine. In the early years of the nineteenth century several raids were made by Russians in the northern parts of Japan, and their actions in burning, pillaging, and taking prisoners raised Japanese feeling very strongly against them. The great struggle, which was going on in Europe at the time with Napoleon, diverted the attention of Russia from the Far East, except for an occasional visit. In 1811 the Russian ship *Diana* was sent to survey the Kurile Islands, and by a stratagem the captain and a number of his officers were seized and kept prisoners by the Japanese for two years, and treated with considerable

Japan and
Russia.

cruelty. An interesting account of the experiences of the Russians was written by Golovnin, the captain, which gives some insight into Japanese ways and thoughts.

Gradually, as the colonisation of Saghalin by the Russians from the north and that of the Japanese from the south came into contact, friction arose, and in 1854 Count Pontiatine endeavoured to arrange a boundary line, but without success. Then, as now, however, Russia combined silent but aggressive action with her diplomacy, and in 1857 she attempted to include among her colonies the island of Tsushima, which lies within sight of Japan on one side, of Korea on the other, and commands the principal entrance to the Sea of Japan. In 1864 the Government of the Bakufu (Shogun) sent a special envoy to St. Petersburg to discuss the questions at issue, and a sort of joint occupation was agreed to, which, however, was found to be unsatisfactory, and in 1869 trouble again arose. After long negotiations Russia proposed to yield to Japan, in exchange for Saghalin, the eighteen islands which form the Kurile group, stretching between Kamtchatka and the Japanese island of Yezo. To this transfer Japan deemed it wise to consent, but the shame of the cession, unavoidable though it was, was deeply felt by the samurai, and it added greatly to their discontent, as they thought that the Government had already made too many concessions to the demands of the foreigners.

Nothing of importance occurred in the relations between Japan and Russia until the conclusion of the war between Japan and China, and the signing of the treaty of Shimonoseki in April 1895. That treaty ceded the Liao-tung Peninsula to Japan, but the joint protest of the three powers—Russia, Germany, and France—immediately deprived her of the chief fruits of her victories. The Japanese obeyed the then unanswerable menace, which practically drove them from Manchuria, with admirable composure, and outwardly even with good grace; but the nation burned with secret indignation, which grew deeper when, within three years,

they saw the Russian eagles flying over Port Arthur and Germany established at Kiao-chau. This feeling had very important results in many respects. It gave, as already indicated, a great impetus to the development of military and naval power in Japan, in order that in future she might be able to withstand the unreasonable demands of the Western Powers. As an evidence of her determination, she entered into international politics, and claimed her position along with other Powers, and especially she began to play with Russia in Korea the very significant part in the drama which before long led to such fateful results.

The story of the development of the military and naval power of Japan is a very interesting one, but meantime only a few notes can be given regarding it. The Japanese soon discovered that all their efforts at national development would not win for them the respect which was their due unless they were able to back up their arguments with force if necessary. As a matter of fact, it was only after they had proved that they were able to win battles that the Western Powers showed any respect for their aspirations or for their achievements in the way of peaceful developments. No sooner, however, did they equip themselves with battleships and quick-firing guns, and slaughter thousands of their fellow-men, than they were acclaimed a highly-civilised nation.

Development
of military and
naval power.

Under the feudal system each daimyo had his fighting men—the samurai,—and, although peace reigned in Japan for two and a half centuries before the Restoration of 1868, all the military forms of an earlier period were kept up. The events accompanying the Restoration caused these to be shattered, and made a new military system a national necessity. For some years temporary arrangements were made for the nucleus of an Imperial army by the three great clans, Satsuma, Choshu, and Tosa, furnishing the central Government with a certain proportion of troops, to be under the direct authority of the sovereign. Contingents from other clans were to be added subsequently. Foreign

officers were engaged to teach the Western methods of drill and tactics, and before long the Imperial Government had a considerable number of troops who were armed and drilled in foreign style.

It was soon perceived that something more complete was necessary to consolidate the Government, and to do away with the feeling that it was to a large extent the creation of the three most powerful clans and mainly supported by them; universal military service was introduced, and it is on that, that the armed strength of Japan depends. The samurai, or fighting men, formed an aristocratic service, but henceforth the army became a democratic institution, including all men within its ranks regardless of class. This was indeed only a return to what existed in the early days of Japan, when every man was a soldier, and when civil duty was not differentiated from military. It was thought that the farmers, artisans, and tradespeople, after centuries of exclusion from the military pale, would be found to be deficient in the military spirit, but subsequent events dispelled this fear. The army and people are now one and indivisible, and when war breaks out, every man, woman, and child in the country does something, however small, to assist in the struggle, and make the soldiers feel that they are backed by the whole nation.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to enter into a history of the development of the army, or a description of its organisation, or a record of its exploits. These are well known to all interested in military affairs. It is sufficient to state a few general facts. The Japanese army is divided into three main divisions—the Active Army with its reserves, the Supernumerary Reserve, and the National Army. Service in one of these three is legally compulsory between the ages of twenty and forty years. In Japan universal military service is more strictly enforced than in any other country, the name of every physically fit young man, with very few legal exceptions, being registered in one of the three branches of the State army. As in France and

Germany, however, young men of education are allowed to become one-year volunteers, serving for twelve months in the Active Army, and then joining the reserve, some as commissioned officers, others for service in the ranks.

The experiences of the Satsuma rebellion, of the war with China and the war with Russia, were all taken advantage of to improve the organisation of the Japanese army, and to make it more effective both from the point of view of offence and defence. There are no official returns of the numbers in the army; but it may be held as not far from exactitude that, taking into account all branches, there are about a million and a quarter of fighting men, and their brilliant deeds during the war with Russia showed that they could more than hold their own with the army of what had been considered the greatest military power in the world.

The growth of the Japanese navy has been very rapid,¹ and its efficiency has been even more marked than that of the army. At the outbreak of the war with China in 1894 the Japanese had only 33 war vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of 61,000. Their experience of the selfish diplomacy of some of the Western Powers on the termination of that war made them determined to have a strong navy in order that they might be able to assert their rights, and naval expansion proceeded rapidly. At the outbreak of the war with Russia the Japanese navy mustered 76 warships, with an aggregate tonnage of 275,000, as against the Russian fleet of 83 ships, with an aggregate tonnage of 410,000. The brilliant exploits of the Japanese navy in the battle of the Sea of Japan ended in the practical extinction of the Russian Fleet in the Far Eastern seas. Since the war with Russia several large battleships and a considerable number of smaller vessels have been added to the Japanese navy, which has thus become a most important factor in determining the issues of political problems in the Far East.

While the exploits of the Japanese army and navy have

¹ Cf. *Dai Nippon*, chap. vi.

astonished the Western world and roused its admiration at the faculties which made them possible, it has been claimed that the real triumph of Japan is to be found not in the number of men slaughtered, but rather in the lives saved on account of the excellent medical and sanitary arrangements on the fields of battle and in the hospitals.¹ A study of these arrangements during the war with Russia shows most distinctly that the Japanese are able to apply their science to every department of national life.

The expansion of Russian territory has always been an index to the nature of Russian policy. Meantime, we can note only a few points in its history.

Russo-Japanese
rivalry in
Korea.

The Crimean War was the means of checking the designs of Russia in the Ottoman Empire. Thus prevented from obtaining an outlet to the Mediterranean, she determined to push her way to the Pacific. She secured by the Treaty of Peking in 1860 the possession of the Pacific coast of Manchuria from the Amur River to Vladivostock and the Korean frontier, and in 1875 she finally acquired Saghalin from Japan in exchange for the Kurile Islands. When her route to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean through Persia or Central Asia was closed by Britain, she decided to concentrate all her energies in trying to obtain a dominant position on the Pacific coast, and here the rivalry between Britain and Russia was continued. In 1885 the British occupied Port Hamilton, a Korean island, in order to anticipate the Russian seizure of Port Lazareff. The British, however, evacuated Port Hamilton in 1887, on the strength of an assurance from China that the Russian Government would not occupy Korean territory under any circumstances.

In 1891 Russia commenced her gigantic undertaking for the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which has had a most important effect in the evolution of events in the Far East. Its terminus was to be at Vladivostock; but as that port is ice-bound more than half the year, Russia was not content

¹ Cf. *The Real Triumph of Japan*, by Louis L. Seaman.

with that as her outlet in the Pacific, and, therefore, she set longing eyes upon Korea and Manchuria, the possession or control of which would have afforded many excellent ports and harbours, which would not only have been useful for the mercantile marine, but also for the ships of the navy, and thus have placed Russia in a commanding position on the Pacific coast. It was the desire to obtain this that led her to unite with Germany and France to prevent Japan from retaining the possession of the Liao-tung Peninsula, as was originally arranged in the Shimonoseki Treaty.

We have already noticed the events in Korea which led up to the war between Japan and China in 1894-5, and there can be no doubt that one of the main causes, if not the main cause, of that war was the fear that Russia would seize that country and thus be in a position to threaten the national existence of Japan. After that war she was incessant in her efforts to interfere in the affairs of that country; and, taking advantage of the mistakes made by the Japanese administrators and the subsequent disorder, she obtained considerable influence, and there was great rivalry between her and Japan. Various attempts were made at an agreement, and in 1896 a memorandum was concluded, by which the powers of the contracting parties, as regards Korea, were defined. Japan was required to limit the number of her troops in Korea to a thousand for the protection of her telegraph line between Fusan and Seoul, and of her settlements in the capital and in the other ports of Fusan, Wongsan, and Chemulpo. On the other hand, Japan recognised the right of Russia to keep troops in Korea, as well as her concession to construct a telegraph line between Seoul and Siberia. Russia also obtained the right to advise Korea concerning financial and military matters as freely as Japan.

The unhappy Koreans suffered a great deal from their varied and antagonistic advisers. Those who represented Japan in their reforming zeal made a great error in attempting to introduce into the country radically new institutions

for which there was no desire, and which conflicted with established customs and traditions which the people were not at all inclined to change. It is no wonder that the radical reforms attempted in Korea provoked antagonism to Japan among the conservatives, and made them inclined to rely on the advice and support of Russia. The representatives of this Power were not slow to take advantage of this state of matters to advance new claims in Korea, while the Boxer troubles in China, and the disturbances which followed, gave her the pretext of strengthening her position in Mongolia and Manchuria. Japan saw that a crisis had come, for it was evident that the doings of Russia in Manchuria not only menaced the integrity of China, but also the independence of Korea, and she determined to check a policy which, if persisted in, threatened her national existence. The negotiations were protracted, and in June 1903 Mr. Kurino, the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg, submitted to the Russian Government the following proposals as a basis of agreement :—

1. A “mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Chinese and Korean Empires, and to maintain the principle of equal opportunity of commerce and industry of all nations in those countries.”

2. The “reciprocal recognition of Japan’s preponderating interest in Korea, and of Russia’s special interest in railway enterprises in Manchuria,” and the mutual recognition of the right of Japan and Russia respectively to take measures for the protection of the above-mentioned interests so far as such measures do not violate the principles enunciated in the first provision, such as the open-door policy and the territorial integrity of the countries in question.

3. A reciprocal pledge “not to impede the development of those industrial and commercial activities respectively of Japan in Korea, and of Russia in Manchuria, which are not inconsistent with the stipulations” of the first provision ; and an additional engagement on the part of Russia “not to impede the eventual extension of the Korean railway into

Southern Manchuria so as to connect with the East China and Shan-hai-kwan-Niuchwang lines."

4. A reciprocal engagement to send troops to the actual number required, by Japan to Korea, or by Russia to Manchuria, in case their respective interests were menaced or insurrection threatened to create international complications, and to withdraw the troops "as soon as their mission was accomplished."

5. The "recognition on the part of Russia of the exclusive right of Japan to give advice and assistance in the interest of reform and good government in Korea, including necessary military assistance."

6. This agreement was to supplant "all previous arrangements between Japan and Russia respecting Korea," by which Russia had the right to give advice upon Korean affairs.

The negotiations dragged on for several months, while Russia was unremitting in her efforts to strengthen her armaments both by land and sea. On October 3 a reply was sent to the Japanese proposals which embraced: (1) a mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Korea; (2) the recognition by Russia of Japan's preponderating interests in Korea, and of her right to advise the civil administration therein without infringing the first provision; (3) a Russian pledge not to interfere with economic undertakings of Japan in Korea, nor to oppose any measure taken for the purpose of protecting such undertakings; (4) the recognition of Japan's right to send troops to Korea for the purpose of protecting her interests, with the knowledge of Russia; (5) a mutual engagement not to use any part of the Korean territory for strategical purposes, nor to undertake on the Korean coast any military works capable of menacing the freedom of navigation in the Straits of Korea; (6) a mutual engagement to establish a neutral zone in the Korean territory lying to the north of the 39th parallel; (7) the recognition by Japan of Manchuria and its littoral as being, in all respects, outside her sphere of interest.

These proposals were in many respects unsatisfactory to Japan. Russia refused to enter into any engagement for the preservation of the territorial integrity of China, or to commit herself to the maintenance of the principle of equal opportunity for all nations in commercial matters, and she practically proposed that Japan should be excluded from Manchuria and be prevented from strengthening or assisting Korea.¹ Japan desired certain military facilities in Korea in order to safeguard Korean independence from foreign attack, to preserve the internal order of the country, and to protect her own interests there. Russia, on the other hand, pursuing her own strategical objects, wished to restrict Japanese military measures, and to secure the defence of Manchuria against foreign invasion by establishing a neutral zone at the cost of Korea, as well as to assure, by forbidding fortifications on the Korean Strait, undisturbed communication between her two great naval ports, Port Arthur and Vladivostock. Although Japan might have accepted, to a certain extent, the Russian proposal as to Korea, she could not abandon in silence the question of Manchuria, where she had vast commercial as well as political interests essentially connected with her position in Korea. Japan was willing, from the first, to recognise Russia's special interests in Manchuria so far as they had been acquired by legitimate means, but she desired that Russia should keep her word by entering into an international compact with Japan to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China in respect of those provinces, as being vital to Japan's special position in Korea, and which in its turn was vital to the existence of the Japanese Empire.

Writing of the Japanese position in these negotiations, Baron Suyematsu says: "Japan's demands were presented only when the most careful consideration had been given to every phase of the question, and after the interests of other Powers as well as her own had been taken into account. Russia had all along perfectly understood Japan's position,

¹ Cf. Hishida, *Japan as a Great Power*, p. 235.

and there was absolutely nothing in the Japanese demands that was new or extravagant. In their extreme moderation they scarcely satisfied the aspirations of the nation, but it was the Government's aim to avoid any disturbance of the peace of the Far East. Russia had pledged herself, in her various communications at different times to the Powers, to accord practically everything that Japan asked for, but when it came to a request that the Russian provinces should be embodied in an international compact she practically ignored all. After this barefaced avowal it was plain to Japan that Russia would have to be kept up to the mark if the promises that had been so freely given were not to become a dead letter."

Japan's patience was at last exhausted, and on February 5, 1904, the Japanese Government addressed a note to Russia terminating the pending "futile negotiations," and reserving "the right to take such independent action as they deem best to consolidate and defend their menaced position, as well as to protect their established rights and legitimate interests." This was practically a declaration of war against Russia.

It is far beyond our present plan to write a history of that war. From the time when the torpedo squadron of Admiral Togo attacked the Russian fleet in the entrance of Port Arthur harbour on February 9 ^{War with Russia.} till the battle of the Sea of Japan, when that distinguished leader utterly annihilated the "third Pacific fleet" of the Russians, victory was uniformly on the side of the Japanese both by land and sea. Their intense patriotism caused them to perform deeds of daring which have won for them the admiration of the world, and their skill in strategy and in the application of the latest scientific methods in all they have done made them almost uniformly successful in their operations. They fully demonstrated the importance of the work of the engineer in time of war. The railways which have been constructed in Japan were fully utilised to convey men and materials and the ships to transport them oversea.

The telegraphs were used to communicate instructions, and to keep the authorities informed regarding movements and requirements. The dockyards and shipbuilding yards were ready to undertake repairs, and the arsenals and machine shops to turn out war material of all kinds as well as appliances which aid in the operations in the field. Light railways were laid down on the way to battlefields, and wireless telegraphy and telephones to convey instructions to the soldiers ; in short, all the latest applications of mechanical, electrical, and chemical science were freely and intelligently used. Perhaps, however, the greatest success of the Japanese in the applications of Western science was to be found in the sanitary, medical, and surgical arrangements of the campaign. These were most complete in every way, and showed not only a most thorough knowledge of the scientific principles involved, but also great ability in organisation and business management. In no war in modern times were there so few deaths from disease or from the wounds inflicted in battle. Attention to food and to sanitary conditions not only ensured the health of the soldiers but also their rapid recovery from wounds.

The assaults by the Japanese forces on Port Arthur, both by land and by sea, when accurately described, will rank among the most heroic struggles in the history of the world. The sending of men to sink themselves and their ships in the fairway of Port Arthur, and the storming of the heights of Nanshan, showed that the Japanese military and naval commanders are able to reckon on a national instinct which Western peoples are scarcely able to appreciate in its full significance. The advance on the strong position of the Russians at Kinchau proves that Japanese soldiers do not hesitate to sacrifice themselves in order to gain the object they have in view. Wasteful self-immolation, however, is no part of their programme. It is stated that the Emperor kept back the final assault on Port Arthur so that lives might not be uselessly sacrificed. At the same time he showed a great regard for his enemies by giving orders that

non-combatants might have an opportunity of leaving Port Arthur. The strategy of the Japanese leaders was carried out with all the deliberation and skill of a game of chess. Military discipline and scientific training, of course, account for a good deal of the success which attended the arms of the Japanese, but they do not give a complete explanation. A national consciousness of unprecedented intensity enabled the Japanese army and navy to achieve ends of incommensurable magnitude.

On June 7, 1905, President Roosevelt of the United States addressed an identical message to the Japanese and Russian Governments suggesting the termination of the war, and both belligerents accepted his overtures. As the result of this action peace commissioners were appointed to meet at Washington. Baron Jutaro Komura, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Kogoro Takahira, Japanese Minister to the United States, were designated to represent Japan, while M. Sergius Witte, President of the Imperial Council, and Baron Romanovitch Rosen, Russian Ambassador to the United States, were designated to represent Russia. These plenipotentiaries held their first meeting on August 9, at the Navy Yard at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to which place the seat of conference was transferred in order to avoid the summer heat of Washington. The negotiations continued for some time, and various points were agreed to, but there were four clauses in the Japanese proposals about which there was absolute disagreement. These related to Saghalin Island, the interned Russian ships, the limitation of Russian naval power, and the payment of an indemnity. Things almost seemed to have come to a deadlock when, on August 28, President Roosevelt is said to have made a new appeal to the Emperor of Japan on behalf of peace. On the same day the Japanese Cabinet and the Elder Statesmen held a Council, in which the question of peace or war was discussed. By the supreme order of his Government Baron Komura waived three of the demands in dispute, and offered to restore

Treaty of Peace
with Russia.

to Russia the northern half of Saghalin, and his terms were agreed to by the Russian representatives.

We need not enter into the details of the treaty, but its main points may be mentioned. The Russian Government acknowledged that Japan possessed in Korea paramount political, military and economical interests, and engaged neither to obstruct nor interfere with the measures of guidance, protection, and control, which Japan might find it necessary to take in Korea. Both Powers undertook to refrain from any military measure which might menace the security of Chinese or Korean territory. They mutually agreed to evacuate completely and simultaneously Manchuria, except the territory affected by the lease of the Liao-tung Peninsula, and to restore entirely and completely to the exclusive administration of China all portions of Manchuria at that time in the occupation or under the control of the Japanese or Russian troops, with the exception of the territory above mentioned. It was agreed to transfer and assign to Japan, with the consent of the Government of China, the lease of Port Arthur, Talien, and the adjacent territory and territorial waters, and all rights, privileges, and concessions connected with or forming part of such lease. The two Powers reciprocally agreed not to obstruct any general measures common to all countries which China may take for the development of the commerce and industry of Manchuria. The railways connected with Port Arthur were to be transferred to Japan, and it was mutually agreed that the railways in Manchuria should be used exclusively for commercial and industrial purposes, and in no wise for strategic purposes. The southern part of the Island of Saghalin was ceded to Japan, and the two Powers mutually agreed not to construct in their respective possessions in that island any fortifications or any similar works. Arrangements were made for the exchange of prisoners, and Russia agreed to repay to Japan the difference between the actual amount expended by Japan on their maintenance and the actual amount similarly disbursed by Russia.

Japan's sacrifice, for the sake of peace, of her claim for reimbursement for the cost of the war called forth the applause of neutral nations, and even the Russians praised her magnanimity in diplomacy and her moral victory, calling it as worthy as her heroic victory in the war. The treaty, however, caused considerable discontent and commotion in Japan, and the press denounced it, declaring that the fruits of victory were again nullified by weak diplomacy and by ill counsels of the cabinet ministers and the elder statesmen who gave advice to the Emperor. Riots took place in various parts of the country, but a little reflection soon showed that, after all, a wise step had been taken. Even if the Japanese had continued to be successful in the war, they would have driven the Russians farther inland, but they would have exhausted themselves, and they would not have been able to exact an indemnity. After all, Japan gained by the treaty of peace more than she demanded prior to the war, while Russia was compelled to abandon to a large extent her material interests in Manchuria, and to give up her pretensions to interfere in the affairs of Korea.

On August 12, 1905, while the war between Japan and Russia was still going on, the Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain, concluded on January 30, 1902, was extended by fresh stipulations, the objects of which were stated to be: (a) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India; (b) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by ensuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire, and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China; (c) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions. This last-mentioned object is the most important addition to the original treaty, as it engages the two Powers to render material assistance should either be attacked. Article VII. states that: "The con-

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Alliance.

ditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present Agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by naval and military authorities of the Contracting Parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest." This arrangement opens up great possibilities, on which, however, we need not meantime speculate. Sir Edward Grey, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs for Great Britain, at a recent meeting¹ of the London Japan Society, said, in looking back over the period since the treaty was renewed, he asked "what test they would apply as to whether an alliance was wise, and whether it had been successful. The test he should apply was twofold. Had the Treaty of Alliance made its object secure, and had it tended to promote peace? Both these questions unhesitatingly could be answered in the affirmative. Those who made the treaty believed at the time that the objects it had in view were objects with which the whole world might sympathise, because they were directed against no other Power, and were for the welfare of all. That view had been endorsed because in the course of the last three years Japan had entered into agreement with other Powers, having more or less the same objects as the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. As other Powers had made these agreements, they were entitled to say that the objects of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance were more secure than ever, and that the prospect of peace was more secure so far as those objects were concerned." He concluded his speech by saying: "Long might these good relations between ourselves and Japan continue, and long might the objects of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance receive the same approval from the world as was the case to-day." As *The Times* remarked on the fiftieth anniversary (August 26, 1908) of the signature of the first treaty between Great Britain and Japan: "Those treaties had for their object the consolidation and maintenance of

¹ May 20, 1908.

the peace of Asia, but for Japan they also meant that she was at last admitted fully and freely, and without reservation, into the comity of the Great Powers. She had now, as an incontestable right, a proud position, which even the most prescient of her statesmen could scarcely have foreseen on that memorable day, fifty years ago, when she reluctantly entered into relations with Great Britain which have since had so remarkable and happy a development."

The first of the treaties referred to by Sir Edward Grey was that made between Japan and France. The Governments of the two countries, animated by a desire to strengthen the relations of amity existing between them, and to remove from those relations all cause of misunderstanding for the future, decided to conclude the following arrangement:—The Governments of Japan and France, being agreed to respect the independence and integrity of China, as well as the principle of equal treatment in that country for the commerce and subjects or citizens of all nations, and having a special interest in the preservation of peace and order, especially in the regions of the Chinese Empire adjacent to the territories where they have the rights of sovereignty, protection, or occupation, engage to support each other in assuring the peace and security of those regions, with a view to maintaining the respective situations and territorial rights of the two Contracting Parties in the continent of Asia.

Treaty with
France.

Probably the immediate object of the agreement was to relieve France of the fear of Japanese aggression on its Far Eastern possessions. From the time of the re-opening of Japan to foreign trade France was always in close friendship with her, but, in consequence of the British success in securing the confidence of the Japanese Government, the increasing power of the German Empire in Europe, and the French leaning towards Russia, there was a tendency for the friendship between Japan and France to cool, and the Russo-Japanese war helped to intensify this tendency. Indeed, towards the end of the war not a few Frenchmen went so

far as to declare their fear of Japan making an attack on Indo-China. Japan never had any such intention, and gradually the misgivings of the French disappeared when the attitude of Japan was better understood. The application of the agreement might lead to very difficult problems if it involved the right to interfere in the affairs of China should they at any time seem to threaten the interests of either Japan or France, but, if it be interpreted with reason and with a real wish for peace, it would be found that, as a rule, the support given to China in the maintenance of order in her border provinces would be moral only. The great advantage of the agreement to France will be saving her the disadvantage of unnecessarily throwing away money on her Asiatic dominions and of being constantly harassed by needless fears. The Japanese press heartily welcomed the agreement, and they believed that it would be an additional guarantee to the peace of the Far East, and they expressed the hope that it would be a step to a Franco-Russo-Japanese *entente*.

That hope was not very long in being, to a large extent, fulfilled, for in August 1907 a new Russo-Japanese Convention was agreed to, with the desire of consolidating peace and neighbourly relations that are now happily re-established between Japan and Russia, and, with the wish to remove, for the future, all causes of misunderstanding in the relations of the two Empires, the following provisions were agreed to :—

Treaty with
Russia.

1. Each of the High Contracting Parties engages itself to respect the present territorial integrity of the other and all the rights flowing to the one and the other Party of the treaties, conventions, and contracts in force between them and China, copies of which have been exchanged between the Contracting Parties (so far as these rights are not incompatible with the principle of equal opportunity) of the Treaty signed at Portsmouth the 5th September (23rd August) 1905, as well as of the special conventions concluded between Japan and Russia.

2. The two High Contracting Parties recognise the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the principle of equal opportunity for affairs concerning the commerce and industry of all the nations in that Empire, and engage themselves to sustain and defend the maintenance of the *status quo* and the respect for that principle by all the peaceful means within their power.

This may seem a rather colourless sort of document. *The Japan Times* in a leading article on the subject¹ said: "The new Convention consists only of two articles, the first binding the High Contracting Parties to mutually respect each other's territorial possessions and also the rights of a specified nature arising from treaties and agreements they have concluded with China, as well as those accruing from the Portsmouth Treaty and others entered into between the two Powers, and the second providing for the maintenance of the *status quo* and the principle of 'equal opportunity' in China. So that at a glance nothing could be more devoid of striking features than the new document, and, when the improved tendency to reconcile and renew friendship that has latterly marked the relationship of the late belligerents is observed, its publication at this moment would look all but superfluous. But it is precisely in the respect just referred to that the great usefulness of the Convention asserts itself. By our own contention, fully recognised and supported by the world at large, we had just cause in going into war with Russia; but that is over now; the Portsmouth Treaty has buried the past for the late combatants. It behoved the two nations to make friends henceforth; but unfortunately the vagaries of human nature would not have it so. With the return of peace there arose suspicions on both sides, Russians believing that Japanese were preparing to strike for a harder blow and Japanese fearing that Russians were determined for a war of revenge. These suspicions were not shared by those shaping the destinies of the two countries; on the contrary they were bent on discouraging those ideas. But, without some definite

¹ August 16, 1907.

instrument to bind both sides, they were powerless to effectually silence the mischievous insinuations, and in that state of things the future of Russo-Japanese relations could not but remain a source of uneasiness to the world. The situation is all changed now, however, the new Convention furnishing a complete guarantee that the late belligerents have laid away their arms for good, and are resolved to cultivate neighbourly relations for their mutual benefit. Along with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Franco-Japanese Arrangement, the new Convention solidifies and gives a new tenure of life to the peace of the world."

The latest and probably one of the most important international agreements made by Japan is that with the Agreement with the United States, United States of America, the chief object of which is to make it clear that it is the wish of the two governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce in the Pacific. They mutually disclaim all aggressive designs, and explain that their policy is the maintenance of the *status quo* on the Pacific, and the principle of equal commercial opportunity in China. It follows that each government will respect the territorial possessions of the other on the Pacific, and will support by all means at its disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal commercial and industrial opportunity for all nations there. The agreement further pledges the two Governments, in case of the occurrence of any event threatening the *status quo*, as above described, or the principle of equal opportunity, as above defined, to communicate with each other for the purpose of arriving at a mutual understanding with regard to the measures which they may consider it useful to take.

While this document cannot be described in the technical sense as a treaty or convention, it embodies a compact which is at least an understanding or *entente*, conveying a message of cordial sympathy. It implies practical co-operation in certain pre-defined conjunctures and community of purpose. If we look into the nature of this new grouping of interests,

which will certainly be brought about, this *entente* is seen to have all the gravity, all the bearing and importance of a treaty, although as an agreement it does not come under the clause in the United States Constitution which makes treaties binding with any nation only when they have received the stamp and seal of the Senate. Like the Anglo-French *entente*, it may, however, be all the more useful on that account. !

This agreement should for ever put an end to the talk of a great warlike struggle for the mastery of the Pacific, if the countries concerned are governed by wise statesmen. Some writers have tried to prove that Japan was a disturber of the peace of the world and outside the pale of civilisation. Her national policy reveals no grounds for such suggestions. Her people have shown that they have as strong a sense of duty as any other people in the world. Her Government has loyally kept its engagements. The treaties and agreements which Japan has made with Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States have shown that Japan has not only become a member of the circle of civilised Great Powers, but has joined in the effort of the Great Powers to constitute themselves into a community associated for the maintenance of right and law, and, if possible, also of peace based upon right and law. In fact, in recent years Tokyo has almost become the centre of international politics. The series of treaties to which reference has been made constitutes Japan a most valuable, indeed an indispensable, link in the chain of government which now encircles the whole earth, and they are certain not only to have very important direct results, but, as we shall see later on, they have indirectly affected Asiatic, American, and European policy to a very considerable extent.

Count Komura, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, has announced in the Japanese Parliament that Japan proposes next year to notify the Powers of the termination of all existing commercial treaties, giving one year's notice, and to negotiate new treaties which would not

be hampered by unequal engagements, but would be based on reciprocity ; that is to say, she means to have the same freedom of action in the matter of tariffs, etc., as the other Great Powers. These negotiations will open up many interesting and important matters, and they will be carefully studied by all who are interested in international politics. It is beyond our present scope to anticipate the nature of the problems involved or to discuss the possible arrangements, but, judging from the past, we may safely say that the proposals of the Japanese will be of a very reasonable and moderate nature. In the negotiations which are carried on the representatives of Great Britain should endeavour to increase the mutual material interests of the two Empires, but at the same time they must recognise the changed position as regards trade and industry which their country holds among the other countries of the world compared with what it did when the first Japanese treaties were made.

The recognition of Japan by the Great Powers as entitled to a position of equality was simply an index of the developments which had taken place on Western lines. The story of these developments is a most interesting one, but it has been told elsewhere, and reference must be made to special publications. The methods of administration were reformed ; the government changed from what was practically an autocracy to a constitutional form somewhat on German lines, and the laws were codified and the administration of justice brought into harmony with Western ideas. The *Financial and Economic Annual* issued by the Japanese Department of Finance contains very complete information with regard to national finance, agriculture, industry and commerce, foreign trade, banking and money market, and the means of communication. A few remarks on some of these, in so far as they have affected international relations, are all that is necessary meantime.

In old Japan the means of communication were very

imperfect, indeed, those in authority deliberately kept them so in order that each province might, as far as possible, be self-contained not only in resources but also in government, but after the restoration of the Emperor to power it was recognised by the Government that one of their first duties was to improve the means of communication, not only that the Empire might be welded into something like a homogeneous whole, but also that industry and commerce might be developed. Many of the old roads were improved, and new ones were constructed, and at the same time the channels of the larger rivers were cleared of obstructions so that they might be used as means for the conveyance of goods.

The authorities, however, were not long in coming to the conclusion that railways were absolutely necessary in order that Japan might be able to take her proper position among the nations of the world. The first railway in Japan was that between Tokyo and Yokohama, 18 miles long, which was opened in 1872. Construction went on slowly for some years, but, by the year 1883, 150 miles had been completed. By that time a considerable number of Japanese engineers had been trained, and it was resolved that in addition to the railways constructed by the Government others might be undertaken by private companies. In 1887 the Private Railways Regulations were issued, and both government and private railways were rapidly developed, but the private lines in mileage soon left the Government lines far behind. In March 1900 the Private Railways Law and the Railway Traffic Law were promulgated, thereby completing the legislation, public and private, in respect of railways. At the end of the financial year 1905-6 the mileage open to traffic was—State Railways, 1532 miles; Private Railways, 3247, or a total of 4779 miles.

After the war with Russia the Government resolved on a definite national railway policy, not only in the interests of industry and commerce, but also from the point of view of national defence, and decided in the state-ownership of all railways which were used for general traffic, leaving out

those of merely local importance. The Railway Nationalisation Bill and the Seoul-Fusan Railway Purchase Bill were presented to the Imperial Diet in its twenty-second session, and the two Bills passed both Houses, the House of Peers, however, reducing the number of railways to be purchased and extending the period of purchase. They were published in the official *Gazette* of 31st March 1906. The transaction was duly carried out, and at the end of the financial year 1907-8 the mileage stood thus:—State Railways, 4452 miles; Private Railways, 445 miles, or a total of 4897 miles. The working of the railways since their nationalisation has given satisfactory results, the details of which are published in the *Annual* of the Finance Department. It has been arranged that the entire loan which was raised for the purchase of the railways shall be redeemed within thirty-two years from the date of purchase.

In addition to the ordinary railways considerable progress has been made with the construction of electric tramways in Japan. The first, 8 miles in length, was opened in Kyoto in 1895, when an industrial exhibition was held in that city. Since then other cities of importance have in succession constructed electric tramways as convenient means of communication for short distances, so that at the end of the financial year 1907-8 there were sixteen electric tramway companies, with an aggregate capital of yen 77,824,673 (£7,973,839), whose lines in working order totalled 165 miles, with 77 miles now under construction. In addition to these there were fifteen companies, which had been formed for the construction of electric tramways but had not begun operations.

Japan has been a member of the International Postal Union since 1877 and of the International Telegraph Union since 1879, and there is now a very complete system of posts, telegraphs, and telephones in the country, which will compare well in efficiency with that of any other country in the world.

The development of the mercantile marine of Japan has

been very rapid, especially since the Shipbuilding Encouragement Law and the Shipbuilding Regulations came into operation in 1896. At the end of the year 1908 it numbered 2295 steamers, with a gross tonnage of 1,160,372, and 5333 sailing vessels, with a gross tonnage, 383,455, besides small sailing vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of 2,804,585. Not only have regular lines been established to all the more important ports of Japan, China, Korea, and neighbouring countries, but also to Europe, America, and Australia.

Coincident with the development of the means of communication there has been a great development in the industries of the country, and especially in those carried on in Western methods. A reference to the *Financial and Economic Annual*, issued by the Department of Finance, shows both the variety and extent of the industries which in recent years have grown up in Japan. The oldest industry of all—namely, agriculture, has been very much improved, and full advantage has been taken of Western science and the application of machinery, with the result that the increase in the amount of food supplies has, to a large extent, kept up with the increase of population, although now the native supplies are supplemented from various parts of the world. Japan is rapidly becoming a manufacturing country, and, like Britain, it will be compelled to draw a considerable part of its food supplies from countries in which agriculture is the chief occupation of the people. The production of tea, silk, sugar, tobacco, and other agricultural and marine products is an important factor in the industry of Japan. Within the past thirty years or so great developments have taken place in almost every department of mining, so that the raw materials of mechanical industry might be available. Coal, iron, and steel are now produced in large quantities, while gold, silver, copper, antimony, manganese, and other less important metals are all found in sufficient quantities to yield large returns to those who undertake their production. Factories

Growth of
industry and
trade.

are almost as varied in their nature in Japan as in Britain, although not on such a large scale. The cotton industry has been developed on a large scale, and the mills are now able not only to supply the wants of Japan, but also to produce considerable quantities for exportation to China, India, and other countries. Mechanical engineering in all its departments, including shipbuilding, has made great progress, while chemical industries in great variety are to be found in many parts of the country. A glance at the list of factories, classified according to the kinds of enterprises, shows that there are few Western industries which are not carried on with considerable success.

The development of industries has naturally led to a very rapid growth in the amount of the foreign trade of Japan. The official publications of the Japanese Government give very full details regarding it and its distribution to the various countries of the world. A very interesting account of it has been written by Mr. Takashi Masuda,¹ a partner in the old-established and well-known business house of Mitsui and Company, and which can be recommended to general readers.

The real test of the success of a nation is to be found in the social conditions of the great body of the people, and it is by that test that the success of Japan must ultimately be measured. The problems involved are very complex, and it is still too early to pronounce a definite opinion regarding them, as during a transition stage, such as that through which Japan has passed, is indeed at present passing, there must necessarily have been many mistakes made which produced bad results. Not a few of those arose from the attempt to follow Western methods, and not infrequently the Japanese copied what was bad in those methods, and forgot what was good in their own. Experience has led them to follow a more conservative and cautious policy.

There can be no doubt that the general health and

¹ Published by Sisley's, Ltd., London.

physique of the Japanese have very much improved in recent years, on account not only of better economic conditions, but also because of more attention to sanitation and hygiene. The Japanese method of physical training is one of the most scientific in existence, and the results it produces are very wonderful, and some of its chief features are becoming common both in Europe and in America. The soldiers, sailors, police, and others in official positions go through a systematic and thorough training. This training is, in fact, indicative of a great deal that is done by the Japanese, as their knowledge of scientific principles, and their ability to apply them in an efficient manner, enable them to surprise their adversaries, even although these surpass them in numbers and size. On the other hand, some of the conditions of modern industrialism tend to lower the state of national health, and therefore to decrease the amount of national wealth in the true sense of that term. Mr. Tejima, Director of the High School of Technology in Tokyo, one of the most intelligent and sympathetic students of social and industrial conditions, tells us that the moral degradation among the factory hands is appalling, and he draws an equally pessimistic picture of the Japanese labourer generally. "The vast majority," says Mr. Tejima, "spend their time out of shop in drunkenness and debauchery. Family life brings them neither pleasure nor comfort. Not only so, but as a class, they take no interest in their own trade; they are simply coolies, rather than artisans, of the poorest class, whose only motive to labour is mere subsistence. There is little encouragement to them to become skilled labourers, and they can never regard themselves as members of respectable society." Recent observations by foreign investigators seem to show a very bad condition of affairs in the case of girls employed in cotton mills, somewhat similar indeed to those which prevailed in the cotton mills of Britain at the beginning of last century, of which it has been truly said: "England's apparent prosperity was like the luxurious vegetation which rises from the poisonous swamps of the

Tropics ; at a distance, to the casual observer, her trade thrived and prospered, but, below, it rested on the absolute misery of thousands of her inhabitants. It is not requisite here to rewrite this saddening page of our history, to recite once more in detail 'the crimes committed in thy name, O liberty!' They stand recorded in parliamentary reports ; they provoked the scorn and indignation of Byron, and, moved by them, England's greatest poetess wrote her finest lyric."¹ These words should be taken to heart by the critics of Japan who say that Christianity is the only antidote for commercial greed, for, as a rule, the owners of the British mills had the reputation of being good Christians, and in many cases were pillars of the churches. That the restraining influence of Christianity is not much greater at the present day than it was at the beginning of last century is evident from an examination of the conditions of labour in Indian mills, many of which are under Christian management, and all are under a Government which calls itself Christian.

Japan is face to face with the same economic and social problems as the other industrial countries of the world, and it will be interesting to note how far the Britain of the East takes advantage of the lessons to be learned from the experience of the Britain of the West.

¹ Professor Nicholson, *The Effects of Machinery in Wages*, p. 47.

CHAPTER III

FACTORS OF NATIONAL LIFE

THE question is often asked, What has been the cause of the wonderful success of Japan? Those who have attempted to answer it not infrequently make the mistake of forgetting that "cause" means the resultant of What is the cause of Japan's success? *all* the conditions which produce a phenomena, as they have looked only at one or two of the components. They, in addition, have not clearly recognised that national evolution is a very complex phenomenon of which the various factors cannot be distinctly separated, as they act and react on each other. Any attempt at a simple summation of the factors would lead to conclusions which are entirely fallacious. Their effective components may vary very much, not only in amount but also in intensity, and their combination produces entirely unexpected results. We shall glance at some of the more important forces which have been at work in Japan, but their resultant must be estimated more by the effects which it has produced on the national life than from the results of any process of integration.

Much discussion has taken place regarding the race to which the Japanese belong, but the best authorities believe that they are Mongols. Dr. Baelz makes the hypothesis that there were two chief streams of immigration, both coming from Korea, and both spreading eastward and northward. The Race, climate, geographical position and economic conditions. Ainos, who are not Mongols, are, indeed, joint occupiers, in a small degree, of the soil of Japan with the Japanese, and

intermarrying has gone on between the two peoples, and goes on still. It is, however, believed that this mixed breed becomes unfruitful in the third and fourth generations, a fact which explains the rare traces of Aino blood, even in the population of the extreme north of the main island. Probably immigrations have taken place from the south, and especially from the Malay Peninsula. The discussion of the relations of the languages in the Far East opens up many interesting points connected with the question of race, but the origins which have been mentioned are sufficient to account for the varieties of force and figure which are to be found in Japan.

Modifications resulting from climate and modes of life have gone on, and thus have been produced some of the special characteristics of the present day Japanese. The study of the adjustment of the human body and the mind to their environment is a most interesting one, but it is far beyond our present scope; a few notes are all that are possible. The climate varies considerably according to latitude, from that of Saghalin in the north to Formosa in the south, that is to say, from arctic to torrid conditions. In the main islands the seasons and climates are not very unlike those of Britain, the extremes of temperature being, however, considerably greater for a few months in summer and winter. Its temperate climate has thus given the people many of the physical characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race, and explains the reason why "the northern man conquers nature, while the southern yields to it." Morally such a climate has many advantages, as it develops from the struggle with natural obstacles courage and love of independence, while the heat is seldom so extreme as to engender that lassitude and want of energy which are characteristic of people who inhabit a permanently hot climate. It has been said that the frequency of earthquakes accounts for a certain element of instability in the Japanese character, and probably this is true. It certainly explains many of the features in their buildings, and some of the

conditions under which the people live, and these must affect their character. The beautiful scenery of the country, the volcanoes, and the rapid torrents during the rainy season, all stimulate the emotions and develop a love for the beautiful and a tendency to poetical mysticism which are very characteristic of the Japanese.

Japan being an island empire, its well-defined natural boundaries have caused more or less isolation, and this was for many years intensified by its national policy, and the people were thus compelled to depend almost entirely on their own resources. These conditions bind a people close, in common interests and love of home, and breed a sturdy patriotism which offers a strong resistance to encroachments by neighbouring peoples. Japan has never known the foot of an invader, and recent events have shown that she could be conquered only when the last of her people had disappeared.

Japan owes a great deal to her geographical position. It has the same relation to Asia as Great Britain has to Europe, and it seems destined to become the centre of industry and commerce in the Far East. The sea always encourages a love of adventure, and assists in the formation of the commercial spirit. The progress which Japan has made in recent years in industry and commerce proves that she already possesses that in a high degree, and events are proceeding rapidly which are certain to bring about great developments. The construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway has brought Japan within eighteen days of London, and that time will soon be shortened. At a conference recently held in St. Petersburg a completely satisfactory agreement was reached with regard to linking up the railways of Europe with the railways of Manchuria and Korea *via* the Russian Trans-Asian route. There will be, in fact, three termini of the Trans-Asian system in Japanese territory, or in territory controlled by Japan—namely, one at Tsuruga for the Vladivostock route ; one at Fusan for the Mukden-Harbin route ; and one at Darien (Dalny), also for the Mukden-Harbin junction. From these termini steamers

will proceed to all parts of the world. The completion of the Trans-Isthmian Canal at Panama will do much to move the centre of magnitude and of importance of the world's commerce to the Pacific area, and it is evident from what has already been achieved that Japan will have an important part of that commerce. We have seen how, during the past forty years or so, her own resources have been developed ; but, after all, these are comparatively small, and those who are guiding her destinies have long recognised that, if Japan is to become a great industrial country, she must utilise, to a large extent, the raw materials of other countries and return to them the manufactured products. Already she imports a large amount of raw cotton from India, China, America, and Egypt to supply her mills. She imports iron ore from China for her steel-works at Wakamatsu, and, speaking generally, she will supplement her own raw materials by those of other countries which are able to supply them on advantageous terms. Her railways have all been laid out to assist in this work, and some of her most important manufactories are as convenient to China as they are to those parts of Japan from which raw materials are obtained. Lines of steamers connect all the chief parts of Japan with those of China, Korea, and other Eastern countries, while others proceed to Europe, America, and Australia. These not only bring raw materials and machinery of all kinds to Japan, as well as goods manufactured in those countries, but also take large quantities of silk, tea, and other Japanese products, both raw and manufactured, in return for the goods which they take from Japan. In short, a glance at a map of the world shows that Japan forms the centre of all the most important trade routes, not only of the Pacific area, but also of the world, connected as she is with Europe and America by lines of steamships and by railways which must concentrate in her a large amount of trade, and give her a great advantage in nearly every market in the world.

The general economic conditions of Japan have greatly assisted her industrial and commercial development. Their

complete study would require a large volume for itself. All that, meantime, can be attempted is a short general statement.

The natural resources of Japan are very varied, even more so than those of Britain, and she has within herself almost all the raw materials required in the chief manufacturing industries. Moreover, as has been pointed out, her geographical position gives her the command of the raw materials, not only of the countries of the Pacific area, but also of those beyond it, as well as markets for her manufactured products, while her supply of cheap but, on the whole, efficient labour of a highly intelligent and adaptable nature enables her to turn out goods at low prices, and she is thus able, not only to supply the requirements of her own people, but also to compete successfully in the open markets of the East. There is, no doubt, a tendency for the wages of skilled workers, and even of unskilled labourers, to increase, and the standard of living to rise, but the people of the West have a great deal to learn from those of the East in the way of the simplification of life and in sobriety. A comparison of the conditions of labour in Japan and in Great Britain must, however, be reserved for another occasion.

The geographical position of Japan is even more important from a military and naval point of view than it is from a commercial and industrial one, and no doubt the statesmen of the world will not be slow to recognise this fact, now that Japan has shown her ability to win battles both by land and by sea. The geographical position, therefore, formed a very important factor in securing for Japan the recognition among the nations of the world which was her due. This importance was distinctly shown in the war with Russia. The long line of the Japanese Empire, from Saghalin to Formosa, affords safe and convenient stations for both military and naval purposes; and in any conflict the army and navy would be near their sources of supply, and not thousands of miles away, as would be the case with the European and American Powers. The coasts of China

would thus be commanded and the passage of any hostile forces made very difficult. Korea is within a few hours' sail of some of the strongest and most complete and convenient ports of Japan, and these are connected by railway and telegraph to all the chief military and naval centres in the Empire. Hong-Kong is close to the southern part of Formosa, the Philippines are less than seven days' steaming from Nagasaki, while Indo-China, Siam, and even Australia, are all within comparatively easy reach. The whole coast-line of the American continent, both north and south, is easily within striking distance of the Japanese navy. It is therefore evident that Japan, by herself, must be a very potent factor in all Far Eastern international questions. In alliance with Great Britain, as she now is, and in agreement with France and the United States of America, a combination would be formed which would be a guarantee for the peace of the Far East, if not of the world. The recent treaties to which we have referred have been great steps in securing that peace, and it is sincerely to be hoped that whatever differences arise will be settled in a rational manner and without having recourse to the dreadful arbitrament of war.

In order to understand the characteristics of any nation, and the changes which from time to time take place in its social and economic conditions, it is not sufficient to look at its external circumstances, we must also try to understand its soul. The soul of any nation, and indeed for that matter the soul of any man, is a very complex quantity (or quality, as we choose to look at it), but what has been called "the soul of Japan" is specially so, and it is exceedingly difficult to recognise all the forces involved in the making of the civilisation of Japan, or to form a clear idea of their resultant. A complete study of this subject would take us into many interesting fields of thought; we shall meantime simply note some of the chief factors which go to the making of "the soul of Japan."

Recent events have clearly shown that racial solidarity has been one of the main causes of the success of Japan in her efforts to attain a high position among the nations of the world, and those who have studied the subject have no doubt that that solidarity has its foundation in the Japanese family system. For our present purpose it will be sufficient to quote the opinions of Professor Junjiro Takakusu, who is recognised as one of the greatest authorities in Japan on such subjects, as an indication of the important place which the Japanese family system has had in the production of the national character.

The Japanese
family system.

Dr. Takakusu asks:¹ "What is the secret of the corporate unity and oneness of spirit of Japanese soldiers and their remarkable discipline? What is the reason for the superior sanitation and commissary arrangements of our army? What is the reason for the utter scorn of death, which seems almost animal-like, and that passionate patriotism which possess us? And, finally, what is the reason for the absolute security of military secrets?" He admits that they must confess that looked at one by one they are weak, but when massed together they are stronger than Western soldiers. And, furthermore, the Japanese have not only assimilated Western knowledge and mechanisms, but they have improved on them in not a few cases, as for instance the Shimose gunpowder, the Murata rifle, the Arisaka gun, and Kimura wireless telephone. Their Red Cross Society, which at first copied from the West, has attained a unique pitch of perfection, and the relief of soldiers' families, the system of information, the care for prisoners of war and the issue of government bonds, have all demonstrated that the Japanese can subordinate personal and private interests to public welfare, so that it is not too much to say that among the peoples of the world they are considered in this respect to be an ideal army and nation.

He, of course, recognises that their thorough military

¹ *International Journal of Ethics*, October 1906, p. 101.

and naval training and their system of public education during the last forty years are the immediate causes, but he believes that the primary cause of all their success is that in Japan the family is the unit, whereas in the West the individual is the unit. If we inquire what is implied in making the individual the standard, we must reply that it means putting personal gain and personal convenience foremost, and ignoring the convenience and interest of others, or, even if others are considered, it is in the last analysis for selfish reasons. In short, in the West, gold is life and self-interest is central. In Japan, on the other hand, the family system leads to mutual succour and mutual co-operation on the part of all those who are connected. Parents help children and children parents. Elder brothers help the younger and the younger help the elder. The honour and glory of the house are the first concern of all. If there is want in one section, it is made up by another. And these families gathered together into groups make a village, and groups of villages make a corporate nation. In the West when a man dies, his wife upon hearing of it is likely to faint away, but in Japan a wife curbs the natural emotions under the impulse to see that the family does not suffer. From the point of view of individualism, death on the battlefield is the height of folly, but to one who holds to the family principle the thought must come when faced with danger or death, "How will this affect my parents? If I am guilty of any disgraceful act, it will bring dishonour upon my whole family and house. I must die." When a soldier leaves for the front, he is escorted with flags by all his fellow-townsmen, singing: "Crush like a jewel; scatter like a flower," but if perchance he comes back alive because of fear of death, there is nothing before him but to drag out his life and die.

At the same time, Dr. Takakusu recognises the need for the cultivation of more individuality among the Japanese in order that they may build up a strong and great new nationality. From some points of view, what may be

called Western individualism must be heeded if Japan is to stand up in the severe competition of modern life, for Western civilisation is entirely a product of individualism, but, on the other hand, Dr. Takakusu believes that, if the family system is overthrown, then Japan will certainly be in grave danger. He sees that among the young men of the present day there is a strong tendency to adopt the individualistic basis and to make self-interest central, but he warns them that, if this tendency prevails, we may prophesy that, if another war occurs in fifty or a hundred years from now, the results will be far otherwise than what they were in the last.

He tells his countrymen that from this time they must give particular attention to this great problem, both in politics and in education. His practical conclusions are that, "Without individualism we must recognise that a complete character cannot be developed, and also that in order to prevail in competition we must sharpen each man's faculties by taking lessons of the individualism of the West, but we must ever be on guard to avoid the weak points of both principles and to harmonise their strong points. So far as one's own ideas and philosophy go, there is no objection to holding extreme individualistic views, but, at the same time, for the sake of Japan and her maintenance among the nations of the world, we must hold to the family principle which has prevailed among us for more than 2000 years, supplementing it by the individualism of the West. We may then look forward to the formation of a new and complete nationality. But most of all we must be on guard against espousing extreme individualism."

However important the family system of Japan may have been in the formation of the national life and character, its effect on the "soul" of Japan cannot be understood without a knowledge of the state of religion and education in Old Japan. We however, meantime, can glance only at a few of their more important points.

The religious factor.

According to traditions, the Great Goddess of Celestial

Light (Ama-Terasu-O-Mi-Kami) sent down her grandson to rule over the Land-of-Luxuriant-Rice-Ears, *i.e.* Japan, with these words: "This is the land of which my descendants shall be lords. Do thou proceed thither and govern the land. Go! *The prosperity of thy dynasty shall be coeval with heaven and earth.*"¹ These latter words are to be found in many official rescripts, and they are ever present in the minds of the Japanese and occurring in their literature. She also gave him a jewel, a sword, and a mirror, which form the three divine treasures of the Empire. Of the mirror in particular she said: "Regard this mirror exactly as if it were my spirit, and reverence (or worship) it as if reverencing me." This mirror is now enshrined in the Temple at Ise, whereunto tens of thousands of pilgrims flock every year from every part of the country, and to which on every occasion of great national importance the Emperor either goes himself or sends a special messenger to announce the event. Again, in every ordinary Japanese household there is a Kami-dana, or god-shelf, in the centre of which is placed a Taima, which is a part of the offerings made at the Shrine of Ise, and which is distributed thence to every household in the Empire at the end of each year. Thus Ama-Terasu-O-Mi-Kami, the first Imperial ancestor, is worshipped throughout the whole Empire.

From her grandson, now known as the Emperor Jinmu, there has been an unbroken line of descent to the present reigning Emperor of 122 Emperors, and amid all the vicissitudes of government and the developments of the feudal system, the Imperial House, although devoid of any real power, never failed to receive reverence, not only from the people in general, but also from the daimyos or military chiefs themselves. The Emperor remained the sole source of honour, and only he could bestow Court ranks or official titles, which although nominal were very much coveted.

The reverence of the Imperial House is intimately con-

¹ Cf. Baron Kikuchi, *Japanese Education: The Nineteenth Century*, June 1907, p. 1015.

nected with ancestor worship, and primitive Shintoism was pre-eminently worship of ancestors together with some admixture of nature worship. The deified ancestors became gods who were supposed to be the guardians of the land, and on important occasions they were consulted or their protection was specially asked for. On the ethical side the essence of Shintoism is cleanness of conscience. The commonest prayer of it runs: "Our eyes may see some uncleanness, but let not our mind hear things that are not clean. Our ears may hear some uncleanness, but let not our mind hear things that are not clean," and so forth.

It is interesting to study the influence of Buddhism on the primitive Shintoism and the modifications which took place in Buddhism itself until in its most recent form it does not differ much from the beliefs of many Western people, including, as it does, the conception of a God in whom everything lives and moves and has its being; an omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient deity. All foreign creeds, indeed, be they Confucianism or Buddhism, when once transplanted to the soil of Japan, become gradually imbued with the spirit which animates Shintoism. Confucianism in Japan is not the Confucianism of China. The great Chinese teaching, with its wealth of fine maxims and sayings, is made full use of; but it is considerably modified. In Japan it seems to be revived, as it were, and to breathe in a new atmosphere, wherein it is strengthened and purified, until it is nationalised and becomes identified with Japanese notions of loyalty and patriotism. The same is true of Buddhism although perhaps to a greater degree, owing to the fact that Buddhism is a religion, whereas Confucianism is not. While Buddhism, in the comparatively bright and comfortable garments in which Japanese genius has clothed it, is the faith of the masses, the educated classes are, for the most part, content with a simpler creed, an essentially workaday system of ethics. To be moral, honest, and upright; to be guided by reason and not by passion; to be faithful to friends and benefactors; to abstain from

meanness and selfishness in all its forms ; to be prepared to sacrifice everything to country and king, is the ideal of the cultured mind, and in the pursuit of it no priestly guidance is considered necessary. With all classes, however, Shintoism to a greater or less degree, consciously or unconsciously, is the dominant factor in the making of their "soul." It is, in a sense, a generalisation of the family system of Japan, and is essentially a creed founded upon reverence of ancestors conjointly with a love of country and of the Emperor who mirrors the best traditions of their common ancestors and exercises the wisest control over the land. Hence the loyalty and patriotism which are the most apparent and important of the outward manifestations of the creed. In its highest form this was shown in the *Bushido* of the samurai, but it permeated to a greater or less extent all classes of the community, and it explains much that has been accomplished by the Japanese in the arts both of peace and of war.

Frederic Harrison claims Shintoism as a rudimentary religion of humanity. Call it by what name we please, it is a wonderful illustration of racial solidarity, and few will differ from Mr. Harrison when he says that the important point to note is that the faith of the Japanese "has been shown to inspire the entire people with a fervid patriotism and a sublime spirit of self-devotion of which modern Europe has hardly any experience. Students of strategy, historians of modern war, are amazed at the courage with which Japanese soldiers and sailors face certain death and mutilation as a matter of course, and without wavering or hesitation. It is not the heroism of a few leaders like Leonidas, Regulus, Curtius, or Winkelried, or of Christian martyrs in days of persecution ; it is the universal spirit of the entire nation, common to the rank and file, on land and on sea. The story of the Crusades of the Middle Ages, or the wars of religion, or the wars of the revolution, can hardly show any spirit of self-devotedness so entirely general to whole multitudes and so perfectly habitual as to be counted

upon with certainty and confidence. If a Japanese general knows that a certain position can only be carried by the loss of 10,000 men, he sends a division to carry it, and 10,000 men fall in the assault. No European general dare make such a venture. We are told that Japanese soldiers and sailors sent to the front are treated and treat themselves as deceased. They make their wills; their contracts are rescinded; their return is looked upon as a subject for small congratulation. Death in service is the end to which all look and hope to attain.”¹ An admirable article appeared in the *Times* of October 4, 1904, entitled “The Soul of a Nation.” It contains a description of the religious force which the Japanese call “Bushido,” and which constitutes the backbone of the nation, the matter cementing the framework of society. From it we extract the following sentences: “If we cannot adequately express all that ‘Bushido’ is, we can say what it is not. Take the average scheme of life of the average society of the West; ‘Bushido’ as nearly as may be represents its exact antithesis. ‘Bushido’ offers us the ideal of poverty instead of wealth, humility in place of ostentation, reserve instead of *réclame*, self-sacrifice in place of selfishness, the care of the interest of the State rather than that of the individual. ‘Bushido’ inspires ardent courage and refusal to turn the back upon the enemy; it looks death calmly in the face and prefers it to ignominy of any kind. It preaches submission to authority, and the sacrifice of all private interests, whether of self or family, to the common weal. It requires its disciples to submit to a strict physical and mental discipline, develops a martial spirit, and by lauding the virtues of constancy, courage, fortitude, faithfulness, daring, and self-restraint offers an exalted code of moral principles, not only for the man and the warrior, but for men and women in times both of peace and of war” . . . and further, “When the modern revival began in Japan, and men began to wander over the world in pursuit of science,

¹ *The Positivist Review*, July 1904, p. 147.

it was feared that 'Bushido' would lose its influence and that Materialism would dominate, owing to the multiplicity of things that had to be learnt. So firmly, however, was it embedded in the history of the people, and so energetic were those who held aloft its banners, that it has not been overborne, but has rather prospered with every material advance of the country. . . . Ill-starred, indeed, was Russia to have chosen a moment for the war, when upon the material foundation of modern science was superimposed the moral structure of an older age."

The best statement of the ethical resultant of all the forces which have been at work in the making of the Japanese character is to be found in the Imperial Rescript on Education issued in 1890 for the purpose of showing the foundations on which the national system of education should be laid. It was to the following effect :—

" Know ye, Our Subjects

" Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue. Our subjects, ever united in loyalty and filial piety, have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters ; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true ; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation ; extend your benevolence to all ; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers ; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests ; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws ; should emergency arise, offer yourself courageously to the State ; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne, coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

"The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you Our Subjects, that we may all thus obtain the same virtue." Baron Kikuchi, former Minister of Education in Japan, writing of this rescript says: "The relation between the Imperial House and the people, intimately connected with the ancestor worship or the reverence for ancestors, is indeed the basis of our education. The very way in which this rescript has been at once received as the true and adequate basis of our moral education, and the reverence in which it is held, show sufficiently clearly the special nature of this relation which has existed without interruption for over twenty-five centuries." Truly, as a recent Japanese author on the awakening of Japan has remarked, "that sacred conception (Mikado) is the thought inheritance of Japan. Mythology has consecrated it, history has endeared it, and poetry has idealised it." It is evident that in all this we have all the essentials of a religion, of a supra-social and a supra-rational force, which binds men together, and which exalts the individual by setting before him an ideal which governs his whole life and his every action, which, in a word, transcends himself.

Shortly after the Russo-Japanese War the Japanese Minister of Education stated that: "From what we have experienced during the last two years of gigantic struggle, we have reason to be satisfied with the practical working of our moral teaching. The men who have fought on the battlefield, and people at home who have borne the sacrifice so courageously, have almost all been brought up under the present system of moral instruction."

The Japanese Government has found it necessary to issue, under its own authority, a series of moral text-books, graded for the different ages of the children in the primary schools, and now permits the use of no other books than the official ones; and special attention is paid to the duties

of patriotism. The teachers are, however, warned that the effect of moral instruction depends on them, and that no satisfactory results can be expected merely from a school-book and a few hours' reading ; the books, in fact, may be superseded by oral lessons with permission of the school committee. It is pointed out, further, that the examples of noble conduct, ancient or modern, as given in the books almost all show extreme tendencies, or else were expedients to meet some extraordinary occasion, and the teacher should be careful to keep within normal limits. In short, not only the syllabuses of instruction and the methods of carrying them out afford many useful lessons to educationists in Britain, where sectarian strife has too often prevented the development of education in all its aspects, including the religious, for the disputants seemed much more anxious to make men and women after their own way of thinking than good citizens inspired with a spirit which would impel them to work enthusiastically for the good of their country.

As we have seen, at the present moment, the problem which is being carefully studied by many thoughtful Japanese is how to build up a strong and great new nationality. They recognise that the individualism of the West is needed to stand up in the severe competition of modern life, but at the same time they are continually warning their fellow-countrymen that, if the solidarity or collectivism which is the result of the family system is overthrown, Japan will certainly be in great danger. The war with Russia showed most distinctly that contact with the West had not weakened the Japanese national spirit. From the point of view of the training in character and force of will, the peoples of the West have much to learn from Japan. Great as have been her developments in industry and commerce, and wondrous as has been her success in war, far more significant is the advent into the world's history of a people possessed of a disciplined will in combination with the highest order of intelligence. The purpose and intelligence of Japan are one. She has shown herself great, not only in conceiving her end, but in

pursuing it, she has poured her energies into her ideals. She has risen into power by the possession of all that we mean by character, and it is in the strength of character rather than in the strength of arms that she now challenges the world in every field of human activity. In a letter to the *Times* Bishop Awdry of Tokyo says: "Finally, I may suggest that we British need to learn something of the peculiar virtues of Japan, and unless we do learn them the result to the British Empire may be disastrous, and that quickly. It is true that the patriotism which will volunteer for service, and personal heroism after volunteering, are abundant among the subjects of King Edward; but do we so recognise that no right of individuals should exist which is detrimental to the public good? Should we all obey as one man if we were told by the public authority that the State needed our services at a crisis, and therefore we must allow all our personal interests to be overridden or thrown to the winds? It is this spirit which gives to Japan its power of throwing its whole strength into a struggle; and it is this spirit of unity which is arising in young China, at this stage sometimes showing itself in ways which are sufficiently bizarre. I do not believe that the British nation would be so mean as to hold back the progress of mankind in order to keep itself at the top. The very spirit of fair sport prevalent amongst us would prevent our intentionally tripping up a rival in order to win the race, or to keep the pace of all slow because we cannot run fast ourselves. But if this is so we shall have to learn practically from the Japanese that the whole is more important than its parts, and the individual must not assert itself against the State. We must realise in a more practical way than at present the Christian ideal of all being members of one body in which no member or class of members can be antagonistic to another where the interests of the whole are involved, and that each exists for the sake of the whole even more truly than the whole exists for the sake of each. Unless we learn and practise this form of social virtue we may find

ourselves falling behind in those qualities which make the power and nobility of a nation."

These considerations bring us face to face with the question of the relation of the religion professed and practised by a people to their individual and national character. Of this we may be quite certain, that the peoples of the East will not accept our cast-off theological garments. In the Japanese the world is confronted by a race not sprung from European stock, but a non-Christian Eastern people, who are not only brave, but also generous, temperate, and humane, who carry self-control far beyond the standard reached by the peoples of the West, and whose high sense of honour and lofty patriotism impel them to deeds of daring and self-sacrifice which have excited the admiration of the world. These are the qualities which, to a large extent, have made the Dai Nippon of to-day, and the ethical system which has produced them claims the attention of all who take an interest in humanity. These qualities have been recognised by her enemies as well as by her friends. It was that incalculable factor in her strength — incalculable until it was revealed in action — that, as General Kuropatkin tells us in his book on the Russo-Japanese War, deceived Russia. "We paid no attention," he says, "to the fact that for many years the education of the Japanese people had been carried out in a martial spirit and on patriotic lines. We saw nothing in the educational methods of a country where the children in the elementary schools are taught to love their nation and to be heroes." In another passage the defeated General, who had reason to know the secret of Japan's strength, writes that the study of Japanese history in the schools "had strengthened the people's love for their native land, and filled them with a deep-rooted conviction that it was invincible." If it had not been for the patriotic feeling animating the Japanese army, he concludes, it never could have accomplished the feats of heroism with which it astonished the world. In peace, too, as well as in war, it is the national spirit stirring the souls of men that makes a people strong.

In Old Japan education was conducted on strictly Chinese lines. The samurai, or military class, consisting of about one-fifteenth of the population, were highly cultured according to the ideas of the country, and were characterised both by uprightness and by devotion to duty. The most important part of knightly pedagogics was the building up of character, and the subtler faculties of prudence, intelligence, and dialectics were left in the shade. Intellectual superiority was, of course, esteemed; but the word *Chi*, which was employed to denote intellectuality, meant wisdom in the first instance, and placed knowledge only in a very subordinate position. The tripod that supported the framework of Bushido was said to be *Chi, Jin, Yu*, respectively Wisdom, Benevolence, and Courage. A samurai was essentially a man of action. Science was out of the pale of his activity. He took advantage of it only in so far as it concerned his profession of arms. Religion and theology were relegated to the priests; he concerned himself with them in so far as they helped to nourish courage. Philosophy and literature formed the chief part of his intellectual training; but even in the pursuit of these, it was not objective truth that he strove after—literature was pursued chiefly as a pastime, and philosophy as a practical aid in the formation of character, if not for the exposition of some military or political problem.

The intellectual factor.

The curriculum of studies according to the pedagogics of Bushido consisted mainly of fencing, archery, a knowledge of anatomy required for the purposes of offence or defence, horsemanship, the use of the spear, tactics, caligraphy, ethics, literature, and history. Finance and commerce and everything connected with them were regarded as low pursuits compared with moral and intellectual vocations. Money, and the love of it, being thus diligently ignored, Bushido could long remain free from a thousand-and-one evils of which money is the root. People whose minds were simply stored with information found no great admirers. Of the three great services of studies that Bacon gives—for delight,

ornament, and ability—Bushido had decided preference for the last, where their use was “in judgment and the disposition of business.” Whether it was for the disposition of public business, or for the exercise of self-control, it was with a practical end in view that education was conducted. “Learning, without thought,” said Confucius, “is labour lost ; thought without learning is perilous.”

In the matter of science and of the outside world the higher-class Japanese were in a state of almost absolute ignorance, while the education of the common people, for the most part, consisted of varying degrees of knowledge of the Chinese classics, got up by mere force of memory, and of Japanese history and Government edicts, together with the ability to write and reckon on the abacus. The schools were small, and the scholars in each class seldom exceeded six ; so that the personal character of the teacher was a very important factor. There were three grades of schools—*Sho*, *Chiu*, and *Dai-Gakko* ; or small, middle, and great schools. The latter, however, were found only in a few localities. The chief centres of learning were at Kyoto and Yedo (now Tokyo), where the highest educational institutions had something like university rank. Kyoto was the seat of ecclesiastical and æsthetic learning, while Yedo was the highest seat of Chinese learning in the land. In nearly every daimyo's provincial capital there was a school for the instruction of the sons of the samurai. As Hearn has pointed out, Japanese education has always been conducted, and, in spite of superficial appearances, is still being conducted, not as in the West for the cultivation of individual ability, or the creation of an independent and forceful being, but to train the individual for co-operative action, and to fit him to occupy an exact place in the mechanism of a rigid society.

During the long peace which prevailed under the Tokugawa Shoguns considerable encouragement was given to literature and arts, and foreign learning was not altogether unknown. There was a good deal of speculation, and several

systems of philosophy were produced, and sciences and arts began to emerge from the narrow sphere of Chinese philosophy and to be gradually permeated with the influences of Western civilisation. The rise of Neo-Shintoism and the study of the history of Japan prepared the minds of more earnest thinkers to comprehend the real nature of the essential constitution of the Empire. The usurpation of the powers of the Government by the Shoguns was beginning to be resented as an act of disloyalty and unrighteousness. There slowly filtered throughout the country, from Nagasaki, where the Dutch had their settlement before foreigners were admitted to the country, not only a certain amount of European science and literature, but also a knowledge of Western constitutional Government and administration. Thus the country was ripe for a great change when Commodore Perry arrived in 1853 with an American squadron, and, by introducing the complications of foreign relations, hastened the downfall of the Tokugawa Shogunate, which, as we have seen, took place in 1868.

In order that the negotiations with Foreign Powers might be carried on in a satisfactory manner, and also that men might be trained who would be able to meet the new conditions which were arising on account of the contact with foreigners, the Government of the Shogun recognised the necessity of educating men in European languages and methods of organisation, and a school was instituted in Yedo, with departments in English and French. This school was the beginning of the modern University of Tokyo.

Western
education.

After the Restoration of the Emperor to power he announced that knowledge and learning would be sought after throughout the whole world, in order that the status of Japan might be raised ever higher and higher, and among the many changes which took place in administration was the beginning of a national system of education. In 1869 regulations relating to universities, middle schools, and elementary schools were promulgated by Imperial decree.

In July 1871 the Department of Education was established, and all affairs relating to general education were brought under its control. In August 1872 the Code of Education was promulgated. An Imperial Rescript was then issued indicating the course to be pursued by the people in general. The purport of the said Imperial Rescript was briefly as follows :—

“ The acquirement of knowledge is essential to a successful life. All knowledge, from that necessary for daily life to that higher knowledge required to prepare officials, farmers, merchants, artisans, physicians, etc., for their respective vocations, is acquired by learning. A long time has elapsed since schools were first established. But for farmers, artisans, and merchants, and also for women, learning was regarded as beyond their sphere, owing to some misapprehension in the way of school administration. Even among the higher classes much time was spent in the useless occupation of writing poetry and composing maxims instead of learning what would be for their own benefit or that of the State. Now an educational system has been established, and the schedules of study remodelled. It is designed, henceforth, that education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, nor a family with an ignorant member. Persons who have hitherto applied themselves to study have almost always looked to the Government for support. This is an erroneous notion, proceeding from long abuse, and every person should henceforth acquire knowledge by his own exertion.”

Rapid progress was made in carrying out the objects of the Code, and elementary schools were started all over the country, and secondary and special schools of different kinds in localities where they were required. In recent years all these have been very much developed, and now the educational system of Japan is in many respects a model which might well be followed by other countries. At the head of all stand the two Imperial Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto—the former consisting of colleges of law, medicine, engineer-

ing, literature, science, and agriculture, which were formerly separate institutions under different departments of government, and the latter of the colleges of science and engineering, medicine, law, and literature. Special attention has been paid in recent years to institutions which are intended to fit for the practical work of life. There are five kinds of technical schools in Japan, namely, industrial, agricultural, commercial, and nautical schools, and supplementary schools for technical instruction. According to the latest report of the Minister of Education there were 3031 technical schools of different kinds. Of these, 12 were Government institutions of superior grade which are under the direct control of the Department of Education, 2887 were public institutions under the control of the authorities of the districts in which they are situated, and the remaining 132 were private institutions. Reference must be made to the report above mentioned and to other special publications for details of the arrangements of the various kinds of institutions. Many of these are very complete, not only in curricula, but also in buildings and appliances. Not only in technical, but also in commercial schools, Britain might learn some lessons from Japan. Our merchants still seem to think that an ordinary school education is sufficient for those who intend to follow commerce, but in Japan, as in Germany, students in this department go through a very complete course of study as well as of practical training, and we see the results in the rapidly developing commerce of these countries. In both of them great attention is paid to ethics and civic duty, so that the students are taken beyond the narrow sphere of their daily work, and they are made acquainted with the wider social and economic problems which ought to engage the attention of every good citizen. In his introductory remarks to his last report the Minister of Education—after pointing out that part of the year under consideration the country was at war with Russia, still, it did not relax its educational efforts, and at the end of the war the Imperial declaration of peace was issued which clearly indicated what

was expected of the people at large—said: “On the one hand, the people have to bear all the burdens resulting from the effects of war, the import of which is unparalleled in the annals of the country, while, on the other hand, they have to concentrate themselves into one harmonious whole that they may discharge their august duties of maintaining evermore the honour and glories of the Empire amid the emulation and prosperity of the world’s progress. To meet this demand strict attention should be paid to the nurture of the resources of the country as well as the development of social refinement. So, bearing in mind all the essential points of future education, we have issued an instruction to the effect that the spiritual education should be so encouraged that the sentiment of fidelity to the Emperor and of love for the country, the two choice flowers indigenous to the soil, might grow stronger, and upon this sound basis of our fundamental constitution all kinds of education should be built. At the same time, not only all technical education should be encouraged, but an enterprising spirit with thrift must be maintained throughout all branches of education, nor should physical education be by any means neglected. We have, moreover, demanded that all undertakings in commemoration of the war should not end with war, but should be so continued and developed as to encourage educational ends; and although *post bellum* measures to be adopted in the furthering of education must be great in number, yet judgment and deliberation ought to be used in their selection, so that they might be adequate for the rapid development of the Empire’s destiny.”

While great attention has been paid to every department of professional and technical training, the special qualities of the Japanese have been most prominently developed in the training of their military and naval officers, as it is explicitly based on a very high code of ethics and of chivalry. Mr. Haldane, the British Minister for War, has described it in the following terms: “To learn to obey is a duty as important as to learn to command. The future officer is taken

while he is still young, and in his cadet corps the boy who is a born leader is systematically taught to submit to the command of him who may be feeble and even incompetent, but whom he is forbidden to despise. What is aimed at is, to produce the sense that it is the corps as a whole for which the individual must live, and, if necessary, die, and that against this corps no individual claim ought to be asserted. Self-effacement, the obligation of truthfulness, devotion to the service of his nation, these are the ethical lessons in which the young Japanese officer is instructed with a thoroughness and a courage which, so far as I know, has no parallel in our time. He must rise early, abstain from luxuries, cultivate the habit of being always busy. Amusements, as such, seem to be unknown in the Japanese officers' school. Recreation takes the shape either of exercises of a kind which are useful for military purposes or of change of studies. Whether any nation can continuously produce generation after generation of officers trained up to this high level I know not. What is certain is that such training has been practised in Japan during this generation. The result is to be found in the descriptions of those who were witnesses of the fashion in which the trenches of the Russians were stormed at Liaoyang and Mukden. I do not quote this case because it illustrates some extreme of the capacity of human nature. On the contrary, this kind of concentration has at all periods of the world's history been demanded of and freely given by the scholar. We learn from his example that when once the highest motives become operative they prove the most powerful of all."¹ These motives are too seldom the effective forces in public action in the countries in the West.

The achievements of the Japanese since the adoption of Western methods show that under the old civilisation, although there was not much in the way of what is called scholarship, there must have been intellectual qualities of a high character which prepared them for the reception of Western

¹ *The Dedicated Life: Addresses*, p. 288.

knowledge. What has been called the "rise" of the Japanese in the scale of civilisation has, therefore, for the most part been simply a change in the direction of their intellectual powers which has enabled them to assimilate a great deal of Western knowledge and apply it to their national affairs, without, however, giving up any of their own essential qualities. It is constantly said by Western people that the Japanese are very good imitators, but are wanting in originality. Criticism of this kind is not only shallow, it is very unfair. Under the old feudal system originality of every kind was heavily penalised, and, even if it had not been, it was too much to expect originality under the circumstances which have existed in Japan since the advent of foreigners. During a transition period such as that through which the Japanese have passed, a great part of the intellectual energy of the people has been spent in assimilating Western knowledge and adapting themselves to the new conditions. We only require to be in the company of Japanese who have had a fairly complete Western education and have seen something of the world to realise that we have men who in intellectual power and ability are able to hold their own with any similar men in any country in the world. In the course of little more than a generation the Japanese have shown that they are not only able to adapt Western science to Japanese conditions but to advance its borders by original investigation. The memoirs and papers published by Japanese students, both on scientific and on literary subjects, will bear very favourable comparison with those of any other country, and, while no Japanese Newton, Darwin, or Kelvin has yet arisen, there are men connected with Japanese universities and colleges of whom any learned institution in the world would have no reason to be ashamed. As conditions develop, the opportunities for originality will increase, but we must remember that what we call originality is only another name for the resultant of the experience and the spirit of the age ; genius simply translates that into language which can be understood.

The Japanese have not simply added to their national culture certain elements from the West ; they have absorbed them, with the result that they have intensified some of the qualities which they formerly possessed. During the war with Russia one of my Japanese friends was asked how his countrymen had managed to jump out of their skins. He answered that they had done nothing of the kind—that all that they had done was simply the natural outcome of their historical development. The Japanese people have always been eager to find out what other people had got to teach them. This was shown as early as the sixth century, when they were brought into contact with Chinese civilisation. In those early days, as their descendants have done in recent times, they saw the superiority of the new civilisation, and, perceiving that its adoption would lead to the betterment of their political, social, and moral conditions, they deliberately set about to adopt it.

We have noted the effects of the Japanese family system in bringing about that racial solidarity which has been one of the main causes, if not the main cause, of their recent progress as a world-power and of their success in the arts both of peace and of war. That solidarity is seen in almost every aspect of Japanese life. Gangs of Japanese navvies, for instance, in their work use their picks in unison and strike their blows to the sound of some rhythmic measure, and coolies when drawing a heavy load synchronise their efforts to measured shouts. What is true of small things is also true of great. When war breaks out, every man, woman, and child in the country does something, however small, to help in the struggle, and the soldiers in the field feel that they have behind them not only the good wishes and efforts of their countrymen, but they believe also that they have the influence of their ancestors, and this inspires them to deeds of valour which are the wonder of the world. When they determined to adopt Western science, arts, and armaments, with all their applications to national life, the national efforts were directed as a whole with similar organic unison

of purpose to thought-out ends in which there is a clear conception of the subordination of the present to the future, with the result that we have the surprising spectacle of an Eastern people emerging, in the course of a few years, from a condition of feudalism and almost suddenly taking its place among the great Powers of the world.

There is, however, a danger that, when racial solidarity is carried too far and without intelligence, it may result in mere blind and therefore inefficient expenditure of energy. It must be guided by individual intelligence, and this guidance has been the chief result of Western education in Japan. It has added to the racial solidarity that individuality which alone can lead to efficiency in every department of human activity. The problem which lies before the Japanese is the proper balancing of racial solidarity and individuality. Progress consists of expanding life, communal and individual, extensive and intensive, physical and psychical. A high state of organised society cannot exist apart from development in every department of life, communal and individual. As we shall see further on, the great new lesson set for the twentieth century is the meeting and mutual comprehension of Eastern and Western civilisation and ideals, and there can be no doubt that the West has much to learn from the Spirit of Old Japan.

While very complete arrangements have been made in every department of education which is required in industry and commerce, the Japanese Government has gone far beyond merely educational arrangements as usually understood, and it has not only shaped its national policy with the intention of developing the resources of the country, but has also directly undertaken the carrying on of work or assisted indirectly in that work, if it were of an educational nature, in the broad sense of that term. Whatever was necessary to enable Japan to attain the position at which she was aiming was considered to be part of the education of the nation. This was especially true in the early days of the new Government, when

Financial and
economic policy.

many works of an experimental nature were started as object lessons. Not a few of these were failures financially and otherwise, and even those which had considerable success cost a great deal, but the Japanese were willing to pay for their experience, even if they made many blunders and had not a few serious losses, and their self-confidence has been largely justified by their present success.

The first great task of the new Government after the Restoration was the reorganisation of the finances of the country. It was no easy task to change these from the methods of the feudal system to those required by a centralised administration, but it was accomplished in a way which reflected great credit on those who were immediately responsible for the work. The paper money of the fiefs was exchanged for Treasury notes, and Government notes were issued to meet the growing demands which arose from the developments which were taking place. In 1881 it was resolved that a determined effort should be made to place the currency of the country on a sound basis; first, by reducing the volume of the fiduciary notes in circulation, and, secondly, by accumulating a specie reserve, and in 1885 specie payments were resumed. A competent writer has said, in reviewing these operations: "Viewed by the light of results, the above facts constitute a fine economical feat, nor can it be denied that the statesmen who directed Japan's finances at that critical time showed clear insight, good organising capacity, and courageous energy."

Our space will allow us to enumerate some only of the more important financial measures which were carried out. As early as 1871 the New Coinage Law was promulgated, with the view of establishing the gold standard, but, as in those days silver was the universal medium of exchange in the trade in the Far East, it was difficult for Japan to maintain gold mono-metallism, and for a considerable time the currency system of Japan was on a basis of bi-metallism. It was not until 1st October 1897 that the gold standard system was put in operation. The arrangements for the

land-tax were most important, and had great results on the economic conditions of the country. From time to time, and especially during recent years, many developments have taken place in the system of taxation, a description of which would require a volume for themselves. A very complete system of banking has been instituted in Japan which has been of great service in developing the trade and industry of the country, and of which several very good accounts have been published which may be consulted by those who are specially interested in the subject.

The import tariff for Japan, although meant primarily as a means of raising revenue, is at the same time an indirect means of giving support to Japanese industries. Any one who studies it carefully can see that it is scientifically arranged for the encouragement of these industries which are likely to suffer most from foreign competition. These departments in which there are no corresponding industries in Japan are let off with a low rate of import duty, while those in which the Japanese are attempting to supply themselves have a graduated scale, a glance at which gives a very good idea of the relative progress which has been made in Japan in the various branches of industry.

The experimental stage of all the ordinary industries in Japan is now past, and these are, for the most part, left to private enterprise, but those of a national character are either subsidised by the Government or directly undertaken by it. There can be little doubt that the remarkable progress made in recent years in the departments of shipping and ship-building has, in great part, been due to the direct support of the Government. In March 1896 was promulgated the Navigation Encouragement Law, under which any Japanese subject or any commercial company whose partners or shareholders are all of them Japanese subjects, engaged in carrying passengers and cargo between Japan and foreign ports in their own vessels, which must be of at least 1000 tons and registered in the shipping list of the Empire, are entitled to subsidies, the amount of which is proportionate to the distance

run and the tonnage of the vessels. In 1896 the Shipbuilding Encouragement Law and the Shipbuilding Regulations came into operation, and the industry has since advanced with remarkable energy. Prior to the operation of that law, vessels exceeding a thousand tons were usually purchased from abroad. But now, under the law referred to, bounties were granted for the construction of iron and steel vessels of not less than 700 gross tons by any Japanese subject or any commercial company whose partners or shareholders are all Japanese subjects, that is, engaged in shipbuilding. The encouragement given by the Government in the matter has been so great that by the end of 1905 there were altogether 216 private shipyards and 42 private docks in Japan. Under these circumstances Japanese shipbuilders have been successful in building large merchant steamers of 6000 tons and upward which are fully qualified to run on the great foreign service lines, and they have, moreover, built vessels to foreign orders. In the Government dockyards ships of war of the largest size are now constructed. In order to supply the materials for shipbuilding the Government has erected a large iron and steel works at Wakamatsu, which is now capable of turning out a considerable quantity of iron and steel. The expenditure, however, has been very great, and difficulties have occurred in working the establishment, but these are looked upon as part of the price paid for experience. This policy, however, should not be carried too far, for experience of this kind may be bought too dearly, as it may prevent developments in other departments for which the country is suited.

The views of the Japanese Government and of those who agree with them seem to be expressed in a leading article in the *Japan Daily Mail*,¹ and, as the matter is important, we will quote the greater part of the article. In discussing the subject of subsidies to steamship companies the writer said: "We confess that the idea of such subsidies is distinctly unwelcome. One's sense of fairness revolts in

¹ February 8, 1908.

presence of a policy which looks like putting a hand into the pocket of the entire community for the purpose of benefiting one section of it. But that is a decidedly rudimentary view. If the race for supremacy in the maritime carrying trade of the world could be started with tape and measure, as is done with contests of athletes, there could be no gainsaying the abstract injustice of bestowing special advantages on this or that competitor. But where the race begins on very unequal terms ; where one competitor starts from such a distance in the rear as to virtually exclude him from the contest, then another set of considerations presents itself—considerations grouped ultimately about the question, ‘Is there any solid reason for entering the competition at all?’ The out-and-out free-trader will answer in the negative. His fundamental creed being that every unit of the producing classes should be left to fill the sphere for which he has shown special aptitude, and that every one seeking to intrude upon that sphere must do so at his own risk and without any extraneous aid, he consistently argues that, if the mercantile marine of a certain nation has proved its competence to perform the functions of carrier, better and more cheaply than any other mercantile marine, then the former should have the field to itself. There are certain points on the other side, however. Notable among them is the fact that merchant vessels have duties to discharge apart from their rôle as transporters of merchandise ; they have to carry mails and they have to carry soldiers. That they should be paid for the former service cannot be disputed, and thus we are brought face to face with one of the commonest forms of subsidy. As to the military duty, it presents a more complicated problem. A State may have its own fleet of military transports, as Britain has, and may thus be theoretically independent of the mercantile marine, but how many countries are in a position to follow the British precedent in this matter? How many countries have, in normal times, a need for military transports sufficient to justify a special organisation of that kind? Sometimes an

over-sea campaign need not be contemplated in any conceivable circumstances and then the question falls. But we are not examining such special cases. We are examining the case of a country like Japan, for example, which, if it has to fight at all, must expect to fight on the other side of the ocean. When this problem presented itself to Japan's statesmen, we have no doubt that they asked themselves, 'Which is the more efficient and the more economical course, namely, to have a fleet of steamers devoted solely to military purposes, or to subsidise a mercantile marine which can satisfy those purposes in time of emergency while acting as the nation's commercial carrier in time of peace? If we choose the former, then we must either leave the vessels idle when duties of military transport do not press, or we must set them to compete with foreign vessels for the carrying trade of our own nation. If we choose the latter, then, on the one hand, we can save money, since moderate subsidies are less onerous than the cost of maintenance; and, on the other, a considerable source of income is secured to the country's shipowners, while, at the same time, the freight charges on our over-sea trade go into the pockets of our own nationals instead of into the pockets of foreigners.' There cannot, we think, be much doubt as to the decision which would follow such arguments. How would Japan have fared had she chosen to organise a squadron of military transports instead of subsidising her mercantile marine? If the dimensions of the squadron had been at all commensurate with the demands of a campaign on the continent of Asia, the world would have found her flagrantly guilty of aggressive intentions. If the squadron had been restricted to limits small enough to disarm such suspicions, then recourse must have been had to the merchantmen of some foreign State in time of emergency. From whichever side we view the problem we seem compelled to conclude that Japan's wisest course was to do what she did, namely, apply public money to encourage the growth of a mercantile marine competent to serve the dual purpose."

There can be no doubt that if it had not been for the assistance which she received from the mercantile marine in the war with Russia, Japan would never have been able to conduct it to a successful issue. At the same time a very strong expression of opinion has been given by the Japanese press, as well as by representative members of the public, that the time has come for a gradual restriction of the amount of shipping subsidies, and that no further extension of the policy should be entertained. As a consequence, during the last session of the Imperial Diet a law was passed considerably modifying the regulations and reducing the amounts to be paid in future, not only in shipping subsidies but also in the amounts paid for the encouragement of shipbuilding. The critics of the system say that it has encouraged extravagance and waste, and has not promoted an independent self-supporting existence on the part of the shipping companies. Even with the subsidies some of the companies are in rather a bad way, and their operations have been carried on at a loss. The system seems to call for remedy in at least two very special directions: (1) A more rigid economy and reduction of expenses on the part of the shipping companies; (2) A more careful inquiry on the part of the Government as to the actual conditions of the companies it seems best worth while to assist and support. Such inquiry would no doubt aim at cutting subsidies to a minimum, but would keep enough to encourage enterprise in the best and most promising directions, the problem being to maintain the service in an efficient condition without making the nation pay too dearly for it.

The arguments which are applied in support of the subsidising of shipping, which is required not only for the development of the trade but also for the defence of the country, are also applied, to a greater or less extent, to support the subsidising of any industry which it is believed will, either directly or indirectly, be beneficial to the country, and there can be no doubt that the competition of Japan with the countries of the West is made more severe by

the assistance which is given to manufacturers or merchants, either directly or indirectly. We need not, meantime, go into details of special cases, as these are well known to all who are interested in the subject. There will, of course, be great differences of opinion as to the wisdom of a policy of this kind, but it is no part of our present plan to discuss it. Meantime, we simply note the facts as illustrating what may be called national or collective as distinguished from individual competition, and it is carried on by many other countries besides Japan. For instance, the United States of America and Germany are able by means of their protective tariff not only to exclude many foreign imports, but also to "dump" their surplus stock on other countries at less than cost of production, because they have already realised their profits in the home markets.

The subject of tariff reform is at present being very much discussed in Japan, not only because of the general interest which is being taken in it in almost every industrial country in the world, but also because of the termination in 1911 of the present treaties which Japan has with the other Powers, when the question will come up for resettlement. All shades of opinion are held with regard to it. The moderate men are in favour of a wise protection that shall not conflict with the respective interests of commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, and also of a judicious use of a conventional tariff, with the employment of "most-favoured-nation" treatment as a useful weapon. There is a small but militant party in Japan in favour of Free Trade, whose chief argument against Protection is the rise in the price of food-stuffs and commodities that must result, and which will militate against Japan's success as a manufacturing country by putting an end to her present great advantage in commanding extraordinarily cheap labour. The extreme Protectionists, of course, would abolish conventional tariffs altogether, and render foreign competition in the home markets increasingly difficult. Should this party succeed in obtaining paramount influence in the various Revision Com-

mittees in the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce, Finance and Foreign Affairs, the new treaties would be just as likely, eventually, to militate against the prosperity of Japan as to discourage competition by injuring foreign trade. It is, of course, impossible to say what may ultimately be arranged, but on the whole British exporters need not anticipate any advances which will not be genuinely necessitated by new conditions in a growing country, and may rest assured that it is Japan's best interest to give them the most favourable treatment compatible with national self-respect and sound economics. An International Committee has been formed by the Foreign Board of Trade (or Chamber of Commerce) to defend the interests of the foreign traders, so that the contest between the free traders and the protectionists is certain to be very keen.

The most significant development in recent years in Japan in the matter of industry and trade has been in the increase of the number of Government monopolies. The tobacco, salt, and camphor industries are entirely in the hands of the Government, and others are more or less assisted, while the more important railways have been nationalised. According to the arrangements which have been made not only the amount which has been paid for the railways, but also the debt incurred in the war with Russia, will all be paid off in a little more than thirty years. Moreover, although the land has not been nationalised in the full sense of that term, still it is public property, and the land tax is much more than a tax in the Western sense of that term. It represents a good part of what is usually called "rent," and it yields a considerable part of the Government revenue. If that tax were put on a proper and adequate basis, and made to include the increase in land values arising from public expenditure or from the development of industry and commerce, a great part of the objections which might be raised to Government support being given to industry would be removed, as then it would simply mean that the national resources were employed for the increase

of national revenue, or in other words national organisation would take the place of capitalistic combination and individual effort. If nothing happens to interfere with the carrying out of her plans, Japan will, in the course of thirty years, be in a very strong economic position which will enable her to become a very powerful competitor in almost every country in the world, should she determine to continue the development of her world-commerce, as she is almost certain to do.

Meantime, the great steps in what may be called national co-operation, which have been taken by Japan, should be carefully noted. It will be interesting to watch how far Japan is destined to convert the old feudalism into the new collectivism or socialism, or whatever other name we choose to use, for the economic and social organisation which in every country in the world in which commerce and industry have made any progress is rapidly being evolved through the pressure of forces of which statesmen and politicians take far too little account. In Japan the movement seems to be more self-conscious than in the countries of the West.

We cannot conclude our imperfect sketch of the causes of Japan's success without pointing out the influence of the conduct of foreign nations as shown by their accredited representatives.

*The conduct of
foreign nations.*

The Japanese shut up their country and excluded other nations because their early experience had shown them that the representatives of those nations were not only selfish and unjust in their dealings with Japan, but also that they endeavoured to interfere in the politics of the country and to a certain extent bring it under the domination of a Foreign Power. This action raised their patriotism to the highest pitch, and accounts for the acts of cruelty and seeming intolerance with which they are charged. While these are not to be excused, they can at least be explained, and no one who knows the Japanese can doubt that they thought that they were driven to such acts through having to make a choice of evils, and they chose the less. A great deal of the criticism of the

peoples of the East by those of the West is to be discounted, for, if all the facts were fully known, it would be found that on the whole the former had shown the higher standard of moral conduct.

On the reopening of the country the action of the Foreign Powers soon proved to those in authority in Japan that, so long as she remained weak and unable to enforce her rights, she would not obtain much respect as a member of the family of nations. The expedition against Choshiu and the bombardment of Shimonoseki did more to open the eyes of Japan than anything else. It showed that the only hope of Japan was to take advantage of Western science and learning, and thus come into line with the other civilised nations of the world. Even after she began to make earnest efforts in that direction she received little encouragement from the representatives of Foreign Powers or from the official acts of their Governments. Probably, on the whole, however, this was an advantage to Japan, for it spurred her on to more vigorous and persistent effort, and stirred "the soul of the people" in a way which otherwise would have been impossible. With nations, as with individuals, one of the most effective means of education is the overcoming of difficulties in order that they may be enabled to attain what they believe to be their rights. The chief motive which urged the Japanese in the adoption of Western civilisation was neither the desire for increased wealth nor the blind imitation of Western customs; it was the sense of honour which cannot bear the being looked down upon as an inferior Power. For a good many years the representatives of the other Powers did not take the Japanese very seriously. They looked upon them as very artistic people and adepts in the making of curios and of cheap imitations of Western goods, and upon Japan as a very interesting country for the globe-trotter, but they gave the Japanese little credit for originality, and never seemed to imagine that Japan would become a great industrial and commercial country. Their chief reason for cultivating relations with Japan was to make it a field for the importation

of foreign goods, and as we have seen they retained, as long as they could, the control of their own nationals in Japan and resisted the attempts of the Japanese to become independent of all foreign control. The new system of education was adopted in order that men might be trained who would be able to guide the destinies of the nation under the altered conditions. The laws and the administration of justice were brought into harmony with Western ideas and practice that foreigners might feel they had security for the safety of their persons and property; a constitutional form of Government was adopted that its action might reflect the ideas of the people; the means of communication were improved that the resources of the country might be developed and that Japan might take her place among the commercial and industrial nations of the world; but in all these changes the underlying motive was that "the status of the Empire of Japan may be raised ever higher and higher." A well-known Japanese has said: "When we opened the whole country to foreign trade, when we introduced the latest improvements in every department of life, when we began to study Western politics and sciences, our guiding motive was not the development of our physical resources and the increase of wealth; much less was it a blind imitation of Western customs. The sense of honour which cannot bear the being looked down upon as an inferior Power—that was the strongest of motives. Pecuniary or industrial considerations were awakened later in the process of transformation."

Jealousy of the honour and independence of their country was, as we have seen, the cause of what seemed to be harsh and autocratic in the conduct of the Japanese in their earliest contact with foreigners, and which led to the stoppage of practically all foreign intercourse for more than two hundred years. On the resumption of that intercourse about the middle of last century they felt that the treaties which were imposed upon them were an infringement of their national honour, while the conduct of many of the foreign settlers was not only offensive to individual and national

pride, but was also the cause of serious national financial loss. The conduct of foreign Governments and of their representatives was often harsh and unreasonable. This was specially observed during the long and weary negotiations for treaty revision, and it had its effect on the proud spirit of the Japanese people, and made them determined to become strong enough that they would not require to ask any favours from foreign nations and certainly not to submit to any insults. That they have been successful in their efforts has been made very clear, and, should the Western Powers think that the Japanese have become too ambitious or even aggressive, they should study history and they would see that they themselves are almost entirely to blame.

The greatest impetus to military and naval development in Japan was given by the arbitrary action of Russia, France, and Germany on the termination of the war between Japan and China in 1895. As we have seen, immediately after the signature of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, these three Powers lost no time in presenting a joint Note to Japan which practically forced her to forego her claims to the territory which had been ceded to her on the mainland as the result of her victories, under the pretext that its retention would not make for the lasting peace of the Far East. Within a very short time, however, Germany asserted her claim over the greater part of the Shantung province, and Russia practically annexed the Liao-tung Peninsula; so that within four years from the time of her expulsion from the territories belonging to her by right of conquest, Japan saw these territories appropriated by the very Powers that expelled her. In the previous chapter we have given an approximate measure of some of the results of that action. It is sufficient to point to the brilliant successes of the Japanese in every action in the war with Russia, both on land and on sea, to make it clear that Japan has now attained a position among the nations of the world sufficient to ensure that, in future, not only will she be treated with respect, but also that her influ-

ence will have great weight in all international questions in the Far East.

While it is impossible to integrate, even very approximately, the forces which have led to the success of Japan, one thing is quite clear, and that is that those of an intellectual and spiritual nature have Synthesis.

been much more effective than the merely material ones. These latter, indeed, have only been the means of allowing the intellectual and spiritual forces to act, so that the term "synthesis" is more appropriate than "integration," for, as Ruskin reminded us, certain "disturbing elements in the social problem are not of the same nature as the constant ones; they alter the nature of the creature under examination the moment they are added; they operate not mathematically, but chemically, introducing conditions which render all our previous knowledge unavailable." The following from an inscription on a bronze tablet on the campus of the Government School of Commerce at Nagasaki gives what may be considered as a Japanese summation of the causes which have led to the success of Japan: "By a happy union of modern education and the spirit of Bushido, inherited from countless generations of ancestors, Japan has triumphed in war. By ceaseless improvement of the one, combined with enlargement and elevation of the other, she must win in the future the no less noble and difficult victories of peace. In Industry and Art, in Science, Morals and Religion, may Dai Nippon secure and maintain a well-merited place among the foremost nations of the civilised world—thus enjoying prosperity at home and contributing her full share toward the blessing of mankind."

CHAPTER IV

CIVILISATIONS OF EAST AND WEST

MANY people, even among those who have studied the subject, profess to believe that there is an impassable gulf between the Eastern and the Western mind. Some East and West. writers even go so far as to say that the struggle between Europe and Asia is the binding thread of history, and that, while the trade between the Continents is the foundation of commerce, while the thought of Asia is the basis of all European religions, the fusion of the Continents has never occurred, and in their judgment never will occur. In support of their argument they quote from one of the most beautiful of Oriental poems in which the author assumes the interval between East and West as a standard of immeasurable distance. Even those who are not much acquainted with Eastern literature and thought adopt the opinion expressed by a well-known English poet, that—

The East bowed low before the blast
In patient deep disdain,
She let the legions thunder past,
Then plunged in thought again.

The same idea is expressed by a more recent and more forcible writer in the following lines :—

Oh, East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently
At God's great judgment Seat.

These lines are often quoted by those who over-emphasise the differences in the working of the Oriental and the Occidental mind, but they should complete the stanza, the remainder of which is :—

But there is neither East nor West,
Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Tho' they come from the ends of the earth !

The newspaper correspondent and the man in the street emphasise what they call the gulf between East and West, but they do not recognise the forces which are tending to fusion or at least to reconciliation. One of the former recently wrote : " After weeks of effort I realised that the sum of my attainments was merely a confirmation of the width and depth of the gulf which ever must separate East from West. From Port Said to Tokyo, from Hong-Kong to Mukden, every incident of my journey proved that there can be no coalescence of Oriental with European. Most devoutly as it may be wished by the framers of treaties, there is a barrier between white man and yellow man that is insuperable." ¹

The reasoning of writers of this type is as superficial as their observation. While the great difference between the Eastern and Western mind is admitted by all who know anything of the subject, recent history has shown that there is nothing of an impassable gulf between them. The evidence on which the ordinary opinion is based is to a very large extent ancient history, the events of which occurred under conditions which are rapidly passing away. Forces which were quite unknown in former times are generating new economic conditions with a rapidity, which in some cases is quite amazing, and these are evolving states of mind and social conditions which, while retaining many of the characteristics of the East, are in some respects approximating to those of the West, while Eastern philosophy streaming back to the West is slowly producing a funda-

¹ *To-morrow in the East*, Douglas Story, p. 70.

mental change in our thought and knowledge, which is certain, before long, to affect profoundly social and political conditions. What Kipling says is the case "when two strong men stand face to face" is, of course, also true of any number of strong men and hence also of strong and intelligent nations, which while retaining their individualities are able to look at all questions bearing on life in a broad and liberal spirit and in the interests of humanity without the limitations imposed by "border, breed, or birth." The so-called impassable gulf between the Eastern and the Western mind has been hollowed out by the erosive action of speculative thought, engendered by local conditions and intensified by isolation. That isolation is rapidly disappearing, and the East (and especially Japan) has shown that it can imbibe Western thought and produce an amalgam which is more valuable than either of its constituents. At the present time some parts of the East are undergoing more changes, both mental and material, and, even as we reckon progress, are making more progress than any other parts of the world. While the East has not given up the habit of "plunging in thought," we may take it for granted that that thought will, in the future, result in action which will profoundly affect the history of the world.

One of the chief faults of Western, and especially of British, people in their dealings with the peoples of the East, is that they are so pleased with the excellence of their own institutions and the correctness of their own ideas of what is necessary for the progress of the world and the welfare of the nations, they cannot understand why other people will not be content with what contents them, and this tactless, unimaginative charity has been the main cause of their troubles in all parts of the world. Our undoubted success in administering Eastern countries is imperilled from time to time by a constitutional indifference to other people's feelings, and by a neglect of the study of a comparison of the civilisations of the East and the West. That study would take us into many interesting fields of history, science,

and philosophy, and all that can be attempted now is a mere outline of the subject. The conditions which have produced the differences between the East and the West might be considered from the economic, the political, the social, the mental or the moral points of view, and their resultant is very complex. One thing is, however, seen in all Eastern nations with any degree of civilisation, namely, the ascendancy of their religion and philosophy in their political institutions, and in their mental and industrial activities, and which is apparent in what is sometimes called the "soul of the people."

It has been stated with a considerable amount of truth that love of the Ultimate and the Universal is the common thought inheritance of every Asiatic race, thus enabling them to produce all the great religions of the world and distinguishing them from the majority of the peoples of the West, and especially from those engaged in trade and industry, who love to dwell on the Particular, and to search out the means, not the end, of life. In plainer language, the peoples of the East work that they may live the lives which their religions teach them are the best, while those of the West struggle for the means of existence and all the accessories connected therewith, and overlook the development of their higher natures. They attempt to "gain the whole world," or as much of it as they can, but the majority seem to "lose their own souls," that is to say, all that should be best in their lives. There are, of course, some exceptional persons who fully recognise the meaning and the object of life, but the extent to which professing Christians as a whole attempt to combine the worship of God and Mammon is a constant wonder to thoughtful Easterns. Lecky, in his *Map of Life*, has pointed out with much consciousness a fundamental difference between the East and the West. "It is eminently characteristic of Eastern nations," he says, "to place their ideals mainly in states of mind or feeling rather than in changes of circumstances, and in such nations men are much less desirous than in

European countries of altering the permanent conditions of their lives." Yet he observes further on that "a discontent with existing circumstances is the chief source of a desire to improve them, and this desire is the mainspring of progress, of progress not only in material but in moral and spiritual conditions. The rôle of 'Divine Discontent' is one we cannot afford to do without." This latter opinion may be admitted, but we may doubt whether the discontent which is so characteristic of the West has much of the divine about it.

All the characteristics of the East and the West are only varying manifestations of a common heredity, education, and environment. It has been remarked that a study of the climate and the geographical position of any country enables us to answer almost every question bearing on the people of that country, and there is a great amount of truth in that statement. Purely Eastern society is anti-democratic, ceremonious, polite, and not uncommonly effeminate and mentally inactive. The people have a tendency to consider quietude of mind and body as the highest bliss. They are, for the most part, fatalistic, sober, dignified, and unmindful of the value of time, and in thought and action they are highly conservative. Eastern nations were and still, for the most part, are governed on autocratic principles, sanctioned by religion under the power of a single ruler. Still almost without exception they exhibit a strong communistic tendency in their administration which makes life easier to the individual, although at the same time it tends to discourage progressive emancipation and personal development.

The distinctive feature of Western civilisation as distinguished from Eastern has been its individualism. Especially in our modern social system great stress is laid on the virtues that constitute efficiency and lead to self-regarding success. This emphasis has been prominent in the whole course of Western civilisation, but it is specially marked in an industrial democracy, such as that of Great Britain or the United States of America. It differentiates our ethical and

social conditions from those of the East, where those virtues have always been more or less at a discount. Self-assertion has been with us more than the condition of personal success; it has been to a large extent the motive power of the whole social machine. The pushing eagerness of every individual to distance his fellows in the race shows itself in discontent, divine or otherwise, chiefly otherwise, although the beginnings of the Eastern way of looking at things are appearing, and these are found to agree with the fundamental principles of the religion which we profess. Until not very long ago it was supposed that the meaning of society was only to be reached through a study of the individual, and that the study of the individual's mind and of the individual's interests constituted the science of man. Society was looked upon simply as an aggregation of these. Now, however, Western thought is changing, and it is being recognised that society is an organism in which the individual is only to be understood through the meaning of the social process; a feature which has been very prominent in Eastern and especially in Japanese ideas of society. As we have seen, Japan has advantages which other Eastern nations do not possess, which give her people many of the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race, and that virility which supplies the implicit faith of the West, that the Wheel of Being does not merely revolve, but moves forward, and thus enables them to undertake with success many functions not only in the domains of industry, commerce and politics, but also in the realms of thought. What has been called her rise in the scale of civilised nations, except in so far as international power is concerned, has been, after all, little of a rise. It has only been a change of front and the application of mental and moral powers in new directions, which enabled her successfully to assert claims which previously she had been content not to make.

A most important question to consider at the present time is, Can we expect friendly co-operation between the peoples of the East and the West without a fundamental

change in the guiding principles of their lives—that is to say, in their philosophy and religion? This question can be answered in an adequate manner only when there is a more thorough knowledge of the subject than seems to be possessed by many who speak and write about it. We require in the first place to get rid of a good deal of racial and national self-conceit. Eastern peoples are quite able to take a very correct estimate of us and of our civilisation. In a recent article a distinguished Indian, late a Judge of H.M.'s High Court of Judicature in Bengal, expressed some opinions which ought to be seriously taken to heart. After referring to former times, in which religion furnished the pretext for the spoliation and enslavement of alien races, he said: "To-day other shibboleths have taken the place of older ones; religion has made room for what is called 'Western civilisation.' 'The white man's burden' has elbowed out the Gospel, whilst trade has become more important than 'evangelisation.' Although the missionary, in his efforts to avoid martyrdom, has always at his back ironclads and big guns, the Bible is not forced upon unwilling people with the same proselytising zeal as a few centuries ago; it is now trade which they are compelled to admit whether they will it or not. They are no more converted, they are civilised. Civilisation is brought to their doors with beat of drums and clangour of arms in the shape of trousers and top-hats, drink, disease, infant-murder, and prostitution. There was something definite and ennobling in the conception of religion; and though the adoption of a new faith did not usually bring the converted equality of rights with the converting missionary, soldier or priest, it promised at least some compensation in the next world. The new creed does not hold out any such prospect. They drink and they die, and there is an end of it. But the fat lands remain to reward the labours of the civilised man. In the intensity of conviction in his 'mission' the follower of the new creed rivals those of his old. The champion of Jehovah restricted salvation to birth in Israel; the champion

of 'Western civilisation' confines it to a special colour. With him it is a primary article of faith that, whatever may be the case in heaven, the kingdom of the earth is for the white skin."¹

Mr. Laurence Oliphant, who knew the countries of the East and the West probably better than any man of his day, comparing the practical results of religion in the East and the West, said: "Wherever modern Christendom—which I will for the sake of distinguishing it from the Christendom proposed by Christ, style Anti-Christendom—comes into contact with the races who live under the dim religious light of their respective revelations, the feeble rays of the latter become extinguished by the gross darkness of this Anti-Christendom, and they lie crushed and mangled under the iron heel of its organised and sanctified selfishness. The real God of Anti-Christendom is Mammon; in Catholic Anti-Christendom, tempered by a lust of spiritual and temporal power; in Greek Anti-Christendom, tempered by a lust of race aggrandisement; but, in Protestant Anti-Christendom, reigning supreme. The cultivation of the selfish instinct has unnaturally developed the purely intellectual faculties at the expense of the moral; has stimulated competition; and has produced a combination of mechanical inventions, political institutions, and an individual force of character, against which so-called 'heathen' nations, whose cupidities and covetous propensities lie comparatively dormant, are utterly unable to prevail.

"This overpowering love of 'the root of all evil,' with the mechanical inventions in the shape of railroads, telegraphs, ironclads, and other appliances which it has discovered for the accumulation of wealth, and the destruction of those who impede its accumulation, constitutes what is called 'Western civilisation.'

"Countries in which there are no gigantic swindling corporations, no financial crises, by which millions are ruined, or Gatling guns by which they may be slain, are said to be

¹ Ameer Ali, C.I.E., *Nineteenth Century*, April 1908, p. 569.

in a state of barbarism. When the civilisation of Anti-Christendom comes into contact with barbarism of this sort, instead of lifting it out of its moral error, which would be the case if it were true Christendom, it almost invariably shivers it to pieces. The consequence of the arrival of the so-called Christian in a heathen country is not to bring immortal life, but physical and moral death. Either the native races die out before him—as in the case of the Red Indian of America—or they save themselves from physical decay by worshipping, with all the ardour of perverts to a new religion, at the shrine of Mammon—as in the case of Japan—and fortify themselves against dissolution by such a rapid development of the mental faculties and the avaricious instincts, as may enable them to cope successfully with the formidable invading influence of Anti-Christendom.”¹

A well-known American Professor of Theology recently wrote: “It is a striking fact that in the Western Hemisphere, where the prevalent form of religion is Christianity, one is more likely to receive the impression of a waning interest in religion and a fading sense of God than in the Eastern Hemisphere, where, through an immemorial past, has occurred the rise and spread of religions that control the major part of the race; where in the present religion is still the chief business of life.”²

It would be well if these and similar facts were kept in mind by those who are taking an interest in the moral and spiritual conditions of the countries of the East. If they did they would not only change their opinions, but also modify their methods. The rapid rise of Japan among the nations of the world, the awakening of China and the unrest not only in India, but also in all the countries of the East, have given an impetus to Christian Missionary work, and, while Western writers, as a rule, express sympathy with the movement for revived life in Eastern countries, not a few think

¹ *Traits and Travesties*, p. 15.

² Charles Cuthbert Hall, *Spiritual Experience and Theological Science*, p. 23.

that it may involve great danger to those of the West unless the people are first Christianised. No one who knows anything of the subject would willingly discourage Christian Missions, but we would like to see them conducted in a rational manner and with a full knowledge of all the conditions of the problems involved. Those who are acquainted with the history of the so-called "heathen" nations have not infrequently been driven to the conclusion, that in many respects their conduct was much more Christian in its nature than that of the nations which professed Christianity, with which they came into contact, and that they were able to teach them many lessons. Indeed, the few details which we have given of the history of the contact of the peoples of the East and the West have been sufficient to show that the boasted civilisation of the West, has not always been very evident in the conduct of those who represented it.

In their treatment of Eastern nations, and of weaker peoples generally, the professing Christian nations have not even made a pretence of acting according to the principles of Christianity; they have, as a rule, been guided entirely by selfish motives which led them to deeds of injustice, and not infrequently of cruelty which disgraced humanity. Not only is this true of Western nations as a whole, it is also true to a very large extent of the individuals of those nations who went to the East for the purpose of making money. Very few of them remembered to practise the religion which they professed, in their dealings with the people of the country in which they temporarily resided, and their greed and arrogance were the main causes of the international troubles which from time to time arose. Even those who made a great profession of religion, and a show of anxiety for the salvation of the souls of the heathen, seemed to have immense powers of self-deception, and justified arrangements which impoverished and demoralised the people, and they were content so long as they brought profit to themselves. They were, in fact, satisfied with legal justice in their dealings, but failed to see the necessity of

moral justice. Of course, no fair-minded person will deny that the people of the East have much to learn from the principles of Christianity, but professing Christians would do well to consider whether they have nothing to learn from the peoples of the East.

There can be no doubt that the problems which will arise from an "awakened" East will not only be numerous, but complex and difficult, but what we would impress on those who speak of the need for the "uplifting" of China and the East generally, is the fact that no country can carry to the East any message which will help to bring about the Kingdom of God on earth, except so far as it has been realised within its own borders. The religion which we send has just the intensive and extensive force of the religion we are living. The position was well put by a well-known Scotch minister¹ when he said: "Surely we can discern that progress is not primarily a question of money or organisation. It depends far more on the height of our spiritual aims and the power of our spiritual life. With not a thousandth part of the money lying now in missionary coffers, with but the feeblest and most rudimentary organisation, the consecrated personality of Paul effected a revolution, and rooted Christianity in the Roman Empire beyond all fear of defeat." It should also be pointed out that Paul had not only a consecrated personality, but also a very definite message, which cannot be said of the Christian churches at the present day. In some countries in the East, and especially in Japan, the problems of religion and ethics are discussed with an intelligence and knowledge far beyond the powers of the young men and women who go out as missionaries, and who take many years to place themselves in the intellectual and spiritual environments of the people. Some of them are, in fact, never able to do this, and they become hindrances to real progress. The Eastern world is ready for the message of the West, but it must be a message brought to it by men of the highest culture, sent out

¹ The late Rev. John Smith, D.D., Edinburgh.

after the most careful training. It must, moreover, appeal to the peoples of the East by its effects on the lives of those who profess it. Some time ago the editor of a missionary magazine,¹ in reviewing the last Bampton Lectures, the object of which was to inquire into the apparent failure of Christianity as a general rule of life and conduct, said that the author "does not do more than refer to the propagation of the Christian faith in heathen lands, but he might have found many additional arguments for the truth of his contention in heathen lands, where a map coloured according to the density of its Christian population of European descent would not infrequently serve as a map to illustrate the spread of Christianity amongst the native populations, the success of missionary work being in inverse ratio to the spread of European Christianity." The writer might have gone further and pointed out that not infrequently the men who most needed conversion were not the so-called heathen, but those who were active supporters of missionary work at home, who seemed to use that work as an anodyne to soothe their consciences in their vain attempts to serve God and Mammon.

In comparing the religious ideas and practices of the East and the West it must always be remembered that they differ in one essential point. The people of the West are in the habit of regarding the various religions of the world as mutually exclusive, and their God is still a "jealous God," who makes religion a matter of personal honour, but in the Far East such a way of looking at the subject is almost unknown. Buddhism is especially tolerant, as Buddha is above jealousy and demands no allegiance, and further does not object to local deities on a proper level of inferiority. Its teaching is pithily summed up: "Avoid doing all wicked actions, practise most perfect virtue, thoroughly subdue your mind." We have seen that in Japan it is found in combination with Shintoism and Confucianism, which latter, however, is not a religion, in the strict sense of the term,

¹ *The East and the West*, January 1908, p. 115.

but rather a system of practical ethics. In China there are three recognised religions—Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, and there are no reasons why a man should not belong to all three, as indeed many do. It has been remarked that the mental attitude of the modern Chinese resembles that of the Romans under the early Empire, when an educated man might conform to the usages of popular and official paganism, including the worship of the Emperor, and at the same time follow in private life some system of philosophy, the Stoic or the Epicurean, which was practically a religion. To this might be added some more mystical and emotional worship, such as the cult of Mithra. In China the mandarins profess Confucianism, and affect to despise superstitions, but many of them have recourse to Buddhism or Taoism for their private devotions or services, and most of them are buried with Buddhist or Taoist rites. So also in Japan, while Shintoism is the official religion (although now in a very modified sense) the rites of Buddhism are followed on all important personal occasions. These facts should be carefully kept in mind when considering the future of religion in Japan and China. The professors of philosophy in Japan take a much wider view of their subjects than the professors of the West. In considering the problem of the synthetic culture of mankind, the authorities of the University of Kyoto, in arranging their lecture course, have provided chairs for European Philosophy, Hindu Philosophy (Buddhism and its various offshoots), and Chinese Philosophy (Confucianism). In this, as in other matters, by placing three hitherto independent systems of thought into juxtaposition, Japan has proved herself to be, *par excellence*, the land of assimilative culture, and it may probably develop a new system of philosophy, in which the fundamental features of the others will be synthesised.

In fact that synthesis has been going on for a very considerable time. The immeasurably deferred hope of the Indian Buddhist was long ago brought down in Japan to

everyday life by the prospect of immediate admission, after death, to the ranks of the deities, and his ethics condensed into a practical moral system, which taught that ignorance is the cause of suffering, that one must work out one's own salvation by diligence, and that one must show love and compassion to all living things. Nichiren, one of the oldest and most picturesque of the Japanese saints, included in his teaching the conception of a God in whom everything lives and moves and has its being ; an omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient deity. All phenomena, mental and material, in all time and space, were declared by him to have only subjective existence in the consciousness of the individual. To the enlightened Buddhist all worlds were equally beautiful. The modern Japanese, however, does not trouble himself much with transcendental philosophy. The faith of the masses is Buddhism, as clothed in the comparatively bright and comfortable garments with which Japanese genius has clothed it, but the scholar proposes to himself a simpler creed, an essentially work-a-day system of ethics. To be moral, honest, and upright ; to be guided by reason and not by passion ; to be faithful to friends and benefactors ; to abstain from meanness and selfishness in all its forms ; to be prepared to sacrifice everything to country and king,—that is the ideal of the cultured mind.

A study of the religions of India shows the same assimilative tendency, and proves that, if Christianity is to prevail in the East, it will differ in form and expression from that in which it has been presented to Western nations, a fact which is being recognised by all intelligent missionaries. Nothing is more absurd than to imagine that Christianity, which is originally an Eastern religion, should, after having been moulded by Western influences, its theology loaded with Western metaphysics, and its books very often mistranslated and misinterpreted, then be returned to the East in the expectation that it would be accepted with all its Western developments by peoples of an entirely different cast of mind, without very important modifications.

The reconciliation of the religious thought of the East and the West is the most pressing need of the times, and in order that this may be possible the peoples of the West must free themselves from a good many preconceived ideas. They must, above all, get rid of the idea that Christianity as interpreted by the Western mind is the only possible presentation of Christianity. Real religion has suffered much from so-called Christian theology in its various forms, and from the efforts of its propagandists, whose only aim seemed to be to convert the Easterners into superficial Westerners. Both in the East and the West the modern developments of science must be brought to bear on religious thought, and the history of God's providential dealing with the race must be fully recognised, for, as Carlyle reminded us, the real Bible of a people is its own national history. As mutual knowledge of each other increases and as intercourse develops, while East will always remain East and West remain West, in the sense of retaining many of their own characteristics of life, thought, and social organisation, the twain will be able to meet on common ground which will enable them to understand each other, and to adjust in a friendly way any differences which may arise ; for in the spaceless sphere of ideas there exists neither a scientific nor an arbitrary longitude to divide the world into East and West. The common meeting ground will be the practical ethics of individual and national life, which will be the outcome of their real religion—that is to say, the force which dominates all their actions. That will be determined not by the theological opinions which they hold on any particular question, but in seeking God “personally” in the persistency of the individual conscience. Whenever a man does this and follows the inner light as far as he can in the endeavour to discover a moral cosmos in the apparent cosmos of environment, and a reconciliation in the apparent contradictions of life ; when, by personal endeavour, he casts off not only every weight and sin that doth so easily beset him,

Reconciliation
of East and
West.

but also the small habits which often prevent and always delay the accomplishment of great ends ; in short, when he persistently does justly, loves mercy, and walks humbly, then he has a claim to be called religious ; and a nation which has a large proportion of its people animated by such ideals of life will be able to exercise more influence for good in the councils of the nations of the world, than those which seek merely material ends, or expend a great part of their national resources on immense armaments.

It is a very curious fact in the development of the Western mind, that students and professors of philosophy have, for the most part, neglected the study of Eastern philosophy, which had been developed into an elaborate system when many of the countries of the West were still in a state of barbarism. Eastern thought teaches us to alter our standpoint and to look at the world from the side of unity, not from the side of things. It adds to the interest of the subject when we find that Eastern philosophy contains much more than a glimmering of Western science, and one of the chief things which that science teaches us is the important influence of environment on physical, mental, and moral characteristics. The Eastern mind has become what it is under the influence of race, climate, economic and social conditions, and religious teaching and practice, and these differences will, of course, continue to make uniformity impossible even if it were desirable. Forces and influences of all kinds are now at work which were quite unknown at any other time in the history of the world, and they show that an intellectual and spiritual fellowship between nations is now a possibility. In an "awakened" East there will be very important economic problems which will have profound effects in social conditions and religious thought. A careful study of religious development, however, shows that the fundamental ideas of all thoughtful men in all ages and in all countries regarding ethics and religion are essentially the same although they differ in expression.

Modern thinkers, for the most part, now believe that

religion had an origin as humble as the primitive thoughts of men, and that it developed as the arts and sciences have developed with the general rise and progress of civilisation, and they have dismissed the dogma common to ecclesiasticism and rationalism, that the religions of non-Christian peoples are the decadent products of superstition and priestly craft. On the contrary, they believe that they are the natural outcome of successive stages of life and thought. This change of opinion regarding the origin of non-Christian religions was accelerated by the opening of the world to the peoples of the West. A study of the great religions of the East, of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, which are held by countless millions with even more reverence than Christians hold their faith, made it impossible for the old explanation, that these great beliefs were merely the work of demons, any longer to be accepted. It is now impossible to get men of any breadth of culture to accept the vast assumption that one religion contains all the truth, and that this truth is taught only by one particular church. The entire disappearance of such a belief is merely a question of time.

Present day tendencies in religious thought are all in this direction. While the doctrines of theosophy may not be accepted as a whole, there can be no doubt that in many ways they are helping to reconcile conflicting opinions, and that almost unconsciously to the persons concerned. The theosophical movement has for its object the formation of a universal brotherhood of humanity, without distinction of race, sex, caste, or colour. Christianity has the same object, but, unfortunately, it is split into sects which not infrequently hate each other with a deadly hatred. A wider spirit is, however, beginning to prevail, and instead of a narrow dogmatism some of the spirit of the early mystics is beginning to return, and the doctrine of a fundamental oneness of souls—of a principle of life, one, infinite and perfect, in which we can unite, find one another, and attain each to his own complete development, not at the expense of others,

but in virtue of their very development—the principle which humanity calls God—is beginning to appear as the end to which all experience and real thought seem to converge. If the civilisation of the world is not to be reduced to a cruel despotism or to chaos, we must get beyond the petty differences of dogma and ritual in all that affects our individual life, and our politicians and statesmen must rise above the pettiness of party strife and the struggle for place and power, and consider all the problems which arise in the light of a world-theory, of a view of life which takes human evolution as a whole, and regards it from a high and impartial standpoint, and thus be able to realise the conditions of permanent national greatness.

A survey of the historic religions of the world shows us that they fall, broadly speaking, into two classes—religions of quiescence and religions of action. The first group seeks God in the world as the cause of all being, as the reality behind all phenomena; the second thinks of God as the supermundane will of the good, as the master and director of history.¹ In the first, the man strives not to overcome the world, but to understand its true significance, to realise the meaninglessness of the wild struggle of phenomena, and by escaping from the pitiless flux of material things to grow conscious of his unity with the All-one. In the case of those who practise it, quiet contemplation preponderates, a feeling of joy or of resigned submission to the present condition of things ordered by God. In the second, active striving preponderates and the man plunges into the thick of the fight and takes an active part in the struggle against the world, for God, and the hope of a future actualisation of the divine good.

The *ideal* of Christianity stands above this contradiction, because it seeks to combine both sides into a unity from the beginning—the immanence and the transcendence of God, the salvation of man that is and that ought to be, the mood of combat and of hope, and not of peace and of joy in the present inner possession of the highest good. On the one

¹ Cf. Pfleiderer, *Religion and Historic Faiths*, chap. i.

hand it says, "Thy kingdom come." On the other, there was a conviction, present from the beginning, that the kingdom of God is now here, internally within us, in the form of righteousness, joy, and peace accomplished by the Divine Spirit in the heart.

At a meeting of the World's Student Conference held in Tokyo, in 1907, Count Okuma, although a non-Christian, told the Chinese students that the only possible and efficient basis or means for the union of East and West is love as taught by Christ, and benevolence as inculcated by Confucius. He insisted that religion must have a basis broad as humanity, and he pointed out that while there have been in the Far East religions which may be called universal,—namely, Buddhism and Confucianism which have long dominated the hearts of men in India, China, and Japan,—yet within the last fifty years Christianity has gone everywhere in the Far East and has gradually subdued the hearts of men. All these religions are mingling in Japan and they are producing a revolution in the spiritual world. To Western minds his words may seem very presumptuous, but he said that he firmly believed that the people of Japan have been raised up to be the point of unification of the civilisation of the world and that they are destined to exert a tremendous influence on that consummation. "If they but realise their mission," he said, "it is reasonable to expect that in Japan will be witnessed the working out of a universal religion, and we shall see realised, for the first time in history, the brotherhood of man and the unification of material and spiritual civilisations. For this consummation he believed the time is ripe."

Whether we are prepared to go so far as Count Okuma or not, there should be no doubt that his advice should be taken to heart, namely, that "Japanese and other Oriental peoples must deeply study the religion of the West, and its ethical teaching, and equally that Westerners should study Oriental religions and ethical teachings, and should thus gain power to penetrate deeply into the spirit of the Orient."

The latter must not insist on conformity to details of dogma, far less of ritual. In speaking on this subject at the recent Pan-Anglican Congress the Rev. Lord William G. Cecil (Rector of Bishop's Hatfield) said, "two thoughts suggested themselves, the first was how far Christianity must change its clothes before it became a truly national Japanese religion; and the second was how much of the existing Japanese thought and culture must be left and how much destroyed, by Christianity. There were some things which Westerners would never understand with regard to Japan. He could not conceive why we should not, with all reasonableness, treat with respect some of the ancient traditions of the Japanese. We in this country decorated our houses and ate beef at Christmas time, not because we were Christians, but because we had not forgotten heathen customs. Therefore, was there any necessity to destroy the beautiful externals of the Japanese religion? He could have wished that the Christian Churches in Japan should have been modelled after the beautiful Buddhist temples in that country, and if they were to be successful they must present Christianity in as pleasing a form as possible." This aspect of the subject deserves much more attention than it has hitherto received. The same Conference cheered a Japanese convert when he told them that "Confucianism and Buddhism were still the moral basis of all the Far East. To call those two great teachings by the name of heathen or pagan teaching was not the best way to solve the difficulty. It was cutting away the knot they could not untie. By comparing them with Christianity and admitting the common elements in all three, and pointing out the unique character of the teaching of our Lord, and then to lead them up to the Higher Light, was the most desirable way." To those who are inclined to enter on this most interesting and important study it may be well to suggest that the Western way of looking at things may not be the only way which is compatible with sanity, that the Western standard of reality may not be the final standard, and that the world which is encircled by the

horizon of Western thought may not be the Whole Universe. Probably a lengthened residence in Eastern countries is a necessary preliminary to such a study, so that they may be enabled to look at things from Eastern standpoints and to enter with sympathy into Eastern modes and habits of thought. They will not have proceeded far in their study before they discover the indebtedness of Western thought and even of the teachings of Christ to earlier Eastern thought, but which through Western influences has been almost entirely forgotten. This indebtedness must be rediscovered if Christendom is ever to understand Christianity.

Religious teachers in all parts of the world must recognise the truth there is in all great historic faiths and not only extend their outlook but also broaden the basis of their instruction. Moreover, they must insist on the applications of the laws of nature (or of science if we so choose to call it) in every part of our individual and national life, so that the resources of the world may be fully utilised for the attainment of the highest moral ends, and there must be a constant striving to attain those ends. The religion thus evolved, will no longer be simply of an ethnic nature, it will be the religion of developed humanity, which will appeal to the complex human nature as a whole, and will satisfy at once the fullest requirements of men's intellects and the highest aspirations of their souls.

A very thoughtful writer has truly said: "Our altered religious thought in the West and our altered knowledge of the East, not only necessitate a re-statement of the case for Missions, they make such a re-statement possible,"¹ and he attempts to state the fundamental truths of Christianity in a way which will commend them to the Eastern mind. We cannot, of course, follow him in his attempt or even try to estimate his success, but in this we must agree with him, that missionaries must know the native mind before they can change it, and they must know upon what spiritual food it has hitherto fed before they can decide upon the form in

¹ Lucas, *The Empire of Christ*, p. 9.

which to offer a better and more satisfying nourishment. They must be anxiously careful to destroy no good thing in the old religions, lest in their efforts to give men a new theology they leave them with no religion at all, for no organic or superorganic phenomenon shows us more clearly the working of the law of adaptation than religion. When Eastern religions and Christianity (which we must remember is originally an Eastern religion) again become pure and primitive, strip off their armour and dogma, speak without their ecclesiastical machinery and popular forms of bell, book, and candle, all finally speak of the Inward Light and stop there. This is the absolute religion common to man, and if it were accepted as the common denominator for all parts of the world, its superstructure might be left to personal and national characteristics which are the results of environment and general conditions, as religion obeys the fundamental laws of all development—those of evolution and adaptation. Probably the most important results of the contact of Japan with the West will be of an intellectual and moral nature. No doubt Japan has much to learn from the West. Superficial observers and thinkers will contest the opinion that the West has much to learn from Japan, but its truth is gradually dawning on all who have had the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with actual facts, and who have the ability to interpret them correctly. A recent writer has said: "It is a blunder to imagine that we of the West have made Christianity exclusively our own, explored it, exhausted it, stamped upon it its final form. We carry it back to the Orient as if it were our gift to the peoples that gave it birth. In a sense it is, in another sense it is their gift to us. Already Christianity is escaping our hands to do its own great work in its own way."¹ A careful study of the place of Christianity among the religions of the world shows its kinship with them and its capability of drawing up into itself and assimilating the highest ideas and aspirations of mankind. This power of adaptability and development,

¹ Professor J. W. Buckham, D.D., *Hibbert Journal*, April 1909, p. 521.

brings upon it, with increasing urgency, the divine obligation of universality.

One of the most interesting features in the Japanese journals is the frequent discussion which takes place on the relative merits and demerits of the civilisations of the East and the West, and their probable futures. We cannot, of course, follow these in their details, but their perusal shows that the opinion prevails among the writers that Eastern and Western civilisation will eventually be united, but that, as yet, the harmonising of the two systems has not proceeded very far. They seem to believe that prior to the final blending there will be a tough struggle between the two principles—the solidarity of Japan and the individualism of the West—and that it would be a calamity if Japan were to concede too much. The merits of its system are to them so manifest that to sacrifice them for the sake of peace, temporary gain, and the like, would be great folly. The people of the country are being divided into two sharply divided parties, the one conservative and pro-Japanese, the other progressive and pro-European. The first of these consists chiefly of the military and the agricultural classes, and, indeed, of most Japanese who are above middle age. The Government is certainly conservative, and both Shintoism and Confucianism are strongly on the same side, so that all the anti-Occidentalisation forces put together undoubtedly possess an enormous amount of strength. They are confronted, however, by powerful counteracting forces—by the sentiments and aspirations of the industrial and commercial classes. Traders and artisans of all sorts are usually worshippers of foreign methods. The whole business world and the non-official political world in Japan are certainly on the side of Western civilisation, and prefer Western thought to Eastern thought. Christianity is, of course, on the side of Western civilisation and of Western thought generally. Buddhism has not declared itself in a very pronounced manner, and some of its critics say that there is a tendency among certain Buddhists to preach individualism and cosmo-

politanism, as Christians are doing, as a means of propping up a structure that has become rather shaky.

In Japan, however, as in the countries of the West, the battle between the conflicting principles will be fought out in the fields of economics and politics. The conservative party will be inclined to limit the franchise as much as possible, and will endeavour to keep down expenditure by undertaking only such public works as are absolutely necessary and likely to prove lucrative in the end ; agriculture would be stimulated, and in education the chief object in view would be training the mind on the lines of the Bushidō. The progressists would adopt a directly opposite policy. They would work for the extension of the franchise, for the enlargement of Japan's sphere of influence in foreign countries ; trade and industry, rather than agriculture, would be pushed ahead ; education would be on liberal lines and distinctly utilitarian in type, but is designed to fit men for the positions they have to fill in the country.

All these matters involve many problems of a social and economic nature ; in fact in Japan, as in the West, the social conditions of the people are attracting more attention than the questions of party politics. The discussions on Socialism in the West are reflected in Japan and a distinctly socialistic party is now in existence, while many who are not allied to it still sympathise with its objects, for there was much in the life of old Japan which commended itself to those of a socialistic tendency of mind. Civilisation in Japan is evidently not only in a transition stage as regards the adoption of Western features, but it is also confronted with the same problems which are receiving so much attention in almost every country in the West. Dr. H. Otsuku, in a very thoughtful essay on the subject, concludes by saying : " One thing appears to me certain, and that is that Japanese civilisation cannot stand alone. Its only chance of perpetuity lies in the possibility of the discovery of a method of blending it with Western civilisation. Hence if the blending of Japanese principles with Western principles be

deemed an impossibility, since I am of opinion that Japanese principles cannot possibly stand alone, the result must be that Western principles will carry everything before them ; the whole of society will bend before it like trees before a mighty wind. When I say that Japanese civilisation cannot stand alone, I do not mean to imply that it will become entirely extinct. It may still appeal to the sentiments of a small section of the nation, but its influence on the destiny of the nation as a whole will be so small as to be imperceptible. In the event of things turning out so, Japan will have cast in her lot, once and for all, with Europe and America, and her future will then be inseparably bound up with theirs." Meantime, however, Western religion, science, and economics are in a transition state, and it is impossible to foretell the next stages in their development. The peoples of the Far East must therefore not be in too great a hurry to copy from the West, for in what is best in their own philosophy may possibly be found the key to the civilisation of the future.

The aspect of civilisation which bears most directly on international relations is that of the commercial morality of the peoples concerned. In the preceding chapters we have seen that in the early days of contact of the East and the West the conduct of the representatives of the West was very far from being what it ought to have been, not only as regards mercantile business but also political relations. Even yet the idea seems to be held by Western nations that the countries of the East exist chiefly in order that they may exploit their resources and enrich themselves without much regard to the peoples most deeply concerned. Such conduct is, of course, not to be held as an excuse for defects in the conduct of Eastern peoples ; but if it were kept in mind by some of their critics they would be a little more charitable towards them. Not a few of these critics never miss an opportunity of painting the commercial morality of the Japanese as darkly as possible, and comparing them unfavourably, not only with the peoples of the West, but also

Commercial
morality in the
East and the
West.

with the Chinese, who in the matter of commercial probity have a very high reputation. Many of the statements which are made are simply echoes from a state of affairs which has, to a very large extent, passed away, or one-sided accounts of transactions of which, if the whole truth were told, the fault would be found to lie not entirely with the Japanese.

At the same time it must be admitted with regret by all who know Japan and love the Japanese that there is some ground for the charge of untrustworthiness which has been brought against them, and which is very much deplored by a large number of commercial and financial men, now to be found in Japan, on whose honesty and straightforwardness not a shadow of doubt has ever been thrown. Discussing the matter recently a Japanese journal, the *Kokunin*, feels unable to deny the charges of bad faith which have been preferred against Japanese merchants at various times and from various quarters. It says that the general body of merchants in Japan are as fully convinced of the importance of credit in their dealings as those of any other nation, and the steady growth of domestic commerce and foreign trade attests to the high level of their credit. The charge of bad faith is explainable by the presence of a few dishonest elements among them, who, in cases of dealing with people of new or unfrequented markets, lay aside their habitual self-respect and adopt a contemptuous attitude towards their purchasers. Falling back on general grounds, the journal finds the commercial history of the world establishing the fact that in old-time trade between nations it has been the guiding principle for each party to cheat and get as much as it was possible out of the other, and this undeveloped idea of the old-time trade practice still survives in the dealings between commercial peoples.

Before any one expresses an opinion with regard to either the commercial or the general morality of any country he ought to make himself acquainted with its history, and especially with the previous conditions of those whom he is criticising. In old Japan, of all the great occupations of

life none was further removed from the profession of arms than commerce. The merchant was placed lowest in the category of vocations—the knight, the tiller of the soil, the mechanic, the merchant. True, some of them attained high social position on account of their wealth, but as a class they were looked down upon, and naturally they adjusted their morals to the stigma which was put upon them. They had a code which regulated their dealings among themselves, but, in their relations with people outside their vocation, the tradesmen lived too true to the reputation of their order. At the time of the revolution, when social and economic conditions were suddenly upset and the country was opened to foreign trade, only the most adventurous and unscrupulous rushed to the ports, while the respectable houses declined for some time the repeated requests of the authorities to establish branch houses. When the samurai were given permission to invest their bonds, which had been given them in compensation for their former allowances, many of them ventured to the open ports in the hope that by business they might be able to augment their small incomes. Professor Nitobe says: "Those who are well acquainted with our history will remember that only a few years after our treaty ports were opened to foreign trade feudalism was abolished, and, when with it the samurai's fiefs were taken and bonds issued to them in compensation, they were given liberty to invest them in mercantile transactions. Now, you may ask, 'Why could they not bring their much boasted veracity into their new business relations, and so reform the old abuses?' Those who had eyes to see could not weep enough, those who had hearts to feel could not sympathise enough, with the fate of many a noble and honest samurai who signally and irrevocably failed in his new and unfamiliar field of trade and industry through sheer lack of shrewdness in coping with his artful plebeian rival. It will be long before it is recognised how many fortunes were wrecked in the attempt to apply Bushido ethics to business methods; but it soon became patent to every observing mind that the

ways of wealth were not the ways of honour." In those early days the open ports of Japan were the refuge of many of the offscourings of Europe and America, and their doings brought disgrace not only on themselves but also on the countries to which they belonged, but it would be very unfair to take these as representative of the morality of the average merchants, far less of those who represented the highest standard among the foreign traders. If comparisons of any value are to be made between Japanese and foreigners, they should be between persons on the same grade of social position.

Amid all the exaggerated statements which have been made by foreigners about the want of commercial morality in Japan, not even the shadow of a doubt has been thrown on the honesty and straightforwardness of the Japanese Government in all that relates to financial affairs. Not only has it scrupulously observed every engagement made by it, of which all the conditions were clearly understood, but it has even, as not infrequently happened in the early days of its inexperience when it was shamelessly tricked, scrupulously fulfilled all the engagements it had inadvertently assumed. What is true of the Government is true of all the municipalities, banks, great railways, and other joint-stock companies which have had any dealings with foreigners. Many of the old-established mercantile and financial firms in Japan, and even a large proportion of those which have been formed in recent years, have reputations as good as British firms of the best standing, and their credit is of the highest order. Any one, who has lived in Japan and had dealings with Japanese tradesmen, will admit that they compare favourably with their own class in any part of the world, and they could give many striking examples of honesty in its best forms on the part of artisans, domestic servants, and others with whom they came into business relations. The most marked exceptions are to be found in the open ports, where every department of morals has been pared down to meet the requirements or examples of a

certain class of foreign residents. Those who know Japan only from what they have seen in these ports do not know it at all. To say, as was said a few years ago, that dishonesty is a national characteristic of the Japanese is entirely false, and shows an utter want of ability to express a trustworthy opinion on any subject relating to Japan. In all the financial transactions in which foreign investors are likely to be interested, such as Government and municipal stocks and the securities of the leading industrial and commercial undertakings, the morality of those who are responsible for their financial arrangements is as high as in any other country in the world. Some recent events connecting several members of the Imperial Diet with a commercial scandal may no doubt be quoted to disprove this opinion, but they only show the dangers to which Japan is exposed from the adoption of aggressive and heartless commercialism. The severe action of the Government in bringing the offenders to justice is certain to have a most salutary effect in commercial circles in Japan. This experience may show the Japanese that a profession of Bushido is as powerless as a profession of Christianity to resist the influence of aggressive commercialism, and may lead them to consider the economic conditions of society which are necessary for a really moral and religious life. The fact that some of the offenders were prominent professors of Christianity, and one of them, at least, known both in Europe and in America for his ethical writings, should moderate the criticism which is made on the purely Japanese system of ethics and its bearing on commercial morality.

The leading commercial and financial men in Japan never miss an opportunity of impressing on their countrymen the need for attention to the ethics of business, and members of the Government not infrequently do the same. Recently the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce issued a circular to the prefectural governors throughout the country, on the subject of the infringement of trade-marks in Japan. As it is an interesting document, it may be reproduced :—

// “ Along with the *post bellum* development of our national condition our commerce and industry have made remarkable progress. On the other hand, as a natural consequence, the competition of international commerce is growing more and more brisk. At this juncture it is a matter of extreme importance to those concerned in commercial and industrial circles to pay due attention to the preservation of their common good and the country's reputation, to strictly abide by the principles of commercial morality, and to be careful not to behave themselves in an unjust and disgraceful way. Such is indeed the vital principles to be borne by the business men for the steady progress of our productive industry and the prosperous development of our external commerce. Recently, however, we have heard of frequent cases of complaint filed by foreign subjects suffering from the infringement committed by Japanese, who imitate and put in circulation the trade-marks of those foreigners in Korea and Manchuria as well as in the homeland. Presumably it may be in most cases ascribed to the wide difference of laws and institutions between this and foreign countries, and other mutual misunderstandings. Yet it cannot be absolutely denied that on the recent rapid expansion of commerce and industry of this country there are some lost to shame, who, allured by the imminent trifling gains, dare disgracefully enough to imitate and trespass on others' privileges, setting at naught the permanent good of the common weal, and at the expense of those entitled to the trade-marks. This is indeed a grievous fault, and we sorely take it to heart. One who dares to infringe others' names, trade names, or trade-marks, or misrepresents the place of production of commodities, or neglects fulfilment of promise, or sells some adulterated articles, not only would damage the interest of others, but injure his own reputation as well as the good of the general business men in common ; and, moreover, greatly obstructs the development and welfare of our commerce and industry. The institution for patents on inventions and registration of practical new ideas, designs, and trade-marks

is an effective means for stopping unjust competition, and to excite originality, and to cultivate the practice and custom of diligence and sincerity among the men, commerce, and industry, which will at once serve to promote their individual interest and the public good of the nation. Accordingly, it is necessary for official men and the general public alike to pay enough attention to the exercise of this useful institution; and you prefectural authorities are requested to bear in mind the aforesaid purport of this, and to instruct those interested in commerce and industry, lest they should miss what they ought to depend upon."

On the general question of the character of the Japanese, Bishop Awdry of Tokyo recently had a very interesting letter in the *Times* (May 22, 1908), in which, after discussing the general question of the ethics of the people, he said: "Not merely are the leaders most keenly alive to the fact that education which does not produce character is a failure, but the vital importance of character in commercial transactions is being urgently pressed upon the students in the commercial schools of Japan. The Government has all along been trustworthy in this respect. The leading financial firms in Tokyo are equally so. The people follow the lead of the Government, and the whole standard of commercial instinct and honour is rising fast. It would be easy to show why the high level of honour in other branches of life did not affect commerce in former times; indeed, the fact that trade was the lowest of all occupations, so that the tradesmen or merchants of Japan were more or less on a par in public estimation with the publican of the New Testament, is of itself enough to account for this; but this condition has passed away. It is most unfair, therefore, that the honour of the Japanese people at large should be measured in the West by the persons with whom alone foreign merchants in Yokohama or Kobe have had most to do—namely, the Japanese who rushed to those ports for the sake of rapid profits by trade. Though the characteristic Japanese points of honour lie in a sphere very different from those of the

Chinaman or the Jew, who, whatever their looseness in other lines, would feel themselves disgraced by failure to fulfil the letter of a contract, and therefore the Japanese are not born international traders like those two other races, yet they are fast developing commercial instinct and capacity, as their success in the Bombay cotton trade abundantly shows, and other characteristics necessary to commercial success are sure to follow as a result of experience. Nor will this change be in all respects a social or moral advance, though for international trade it is inevitable. Even to this day where foreign ways have not reached, what would be contracts with us are estimates in Japan, liable to be revised if there should be an unexpected change in circumstances, such as a great rise or fall of prices. Pecuniary dealings between parties who take no interest in each other cannot, of course, be conducted on such a system ; but does it not really stand on a higher level of moral principle than where it is regarded as a matter of no concern to either party whether the other is ruined or not by his bargain, though what causes the ruin may not have been the loser's fault or carelessness? The Western system, under which pecuniary dealings are more and more regarded as creating or implying no moral relation between the parties, who thereby tend to become opposed to each other both as individuals and as classes, is not a thing to be proud of, nor what a friend of Japan can wish to see unreservedly copied from the West."

The opinions of many others and especially of those who have done business with the Japanese might be quoted to show that a great part of the criticism by foreigners who are content to echo the gossip of the open ports or to exaggerate individual cases, is altogether unwarranted ; but space, meantime, will only allow the mention of a representative business man who has had opportunities of judging the Japanese from personal experience. At the last annual meeting of the Anglo-Japanese Bank, the chairman, Sir Westly Perceval, in addressing the shareholders said " he had just returned from a trip to Japan, and as a result of what

he learned on his visit he deprecated most strongly the ill-natured and ill-informed criticism of Japan, of which there had been so much recently. He insisted not only on the ability, but also on the good-will of the Japanese to fulfil their obligations to the last farthing. As a matter of fact, he stated, if necessary, the country could stand an even heavier burden of taxation than that at present laid upon it, but the policy of the Government is—and rightly so—to reduce the present burden as far as can be done with safety. He took a most hopeful view of the future of both Japanese foreign trade and of the expansion of internal industrial enterprise.” Taking all the circumstances into account we can agree with Baron Suyematsu when he says: “The effects of the Great Change, both political and social, have been subsiding already for some time, and the order of things at large has also begun to settle down. The condition of our mercantile circle is in consequence much changed; so also the attitude and characters of foreign traders have begun to alter considerably. I am therefore most sanguine that all complaints of foreigners against our commercial probity will soon become a thing of the past.” No doubt as in all industrial and commercial countries exceptions to honourable dealing are still to be found, but there need be no hesitation in saying that if the ordinary caution and prudence which should mark all commercial dealings is exercised, there should be no more difficulty in carrying on trade with Japan than with any other part of the world.

The practical question to consider is: How will the conditions which have been mentioned affect the action of

The mission
of Japan.

Japan in her intercourse with the other nations of the world? It is of course impossible to answer this with anything like definiteness as so much will depend on the evolution of conditions for which the Japanese are not responsible, but which nevertheless will, either directly or indirectly, affect the destinies of their country. So far as can be judged from a study of current Japanese thought, as it finds expression in the speeches of

their statesmen, politicians, and writers (some of which we have mentioned), the following are the points which are considered the most important in the mission which Japan believes herself called upon to perform among the nations of the world :—

I. To prove to the world that modern civilisation is not local but universal.

Marquis (now Prince) Ito during his tour of the world in 1901 gave an interesting explanation of Japan's mission in a speech at the Metropolitan Club in New York City. "We are," said he, "the only people in the Orient who can fully understand the importance and significance of two civilisations, and I consider it a noble mission of our country to play the part of international broker in the further maintenance of the peace of the Orient." All classes in Japan, from the Emperor downwards, have voiced the national aspiration of Japan to maintain permanent international peace and peaceful intercourse, commercial and political, among all nations of the East and the West, preserving the integrity of the weaker nations of Asia by co-operation with the Great Powers, while respecting the legitimate rights of other nations and defending its own proper rights and dignity, thus proving that Christian (in the broad sense of that term) civilisation may be general and not limited to Europe and America.

II. To harmonise Eastern and Western thought.

As has been already indicated her past history and her recent developments seem to show that Japan is peculiarly fitted to combine all that is best in the philosophy and religions of the East and the West. The "soul of Japan" is, as we have seen, in a sense the resultant of all the religious and moral influences of the East, and to these are now being added those of the West. It has been argued with no little force that "to reconcile the East with the West, to be the advocate of the East and the harbinger of the West, this we believe to be the mission Japan is called upon to perform"; and we have indicated how, in many

ways, she is endeavouring to fulfil this part of her mission. In this she is being assisted by many thoughtful men and women in the West, who are consciously attempting the much-needed reconciliation. What is true of the Asiatic strains of Japanese culture is also true of those which have recently come from the West. They are not simply additions which have been superimposed on what was already in existence. They have been absorbed and have profoundly modified it, and have made the psychology of the Japanese more complex than ever.

III. To regenerate China and Korea.

In former times, as we have seen, Japan owed a great deal to these two countries in the matters, not only of art and literature, but also of religion and ethics and of civilisation generally, and she is now anxious to repay them as far as that is possible. She has taken full advantage of Western knowledge, and she has shown that she can apply it efficiently, not only to the arts of peace, but also to those of war, and her influence is being felt to a greater or less extent in every country in Asia, but especially in Korea and China. The former has, in a sense, become a dependency of Japan, and, as we shall see later on, the problems involved in her government are of a very complicated and difficult nature. The success of Japan in the management of her own internal affairs has been in great part due to the fact that the impetus to progress has come from within and not from without, and it is to be hoped that the Japanese authorities will remember this fact in their treatment of Korea. At the same time it must be recognised that their conduct in this matter is to a large extent conditioned by political considerations which limit their freedom of action, and these must be taken into account when any criticism is offered of that action.

The awakening of China opens up many important questions which will require very careful consideration, on the part not only of the countries in the Far East directly concerned, but also of those of Europe and America. All

the treaties which have been recently made profess a desire not only to respect the territorial integrity of China, but also to help her to take her proper place among the nations of the world, and it is to be hoped that this profession will be carried out in a spirit of brotherly co-operation and not in that of commercial or political aggression, as has unfortunately been too much the case in the past. China has simply been looked upon as a field for exploration and the accumulation of wealth to the people of Western countries, and without any regard to the welfare of its people.

IV. To promote the peace and commerce of the East.

Representative men of all classes in Japan have professed that this is their aim. They wish her to be a commercial nation, and, without peace, commerce is impossible. This idea must govern not only the authorities in Japan, but also the individual Japanese who have dealings with other nations. The great success which has attended the Japanese both in commerce and in war has raised a certain amount of jealousy which will require great tact to allay, and any show of arrogance or pride may cause bitter feelings among the peoples of other countries. Moreover, industrial and commercial development may have the same results in Japan and China as it has had in Western countries, and may cause a reckless rush for wealth which will have most disastrous results in the poorer classes, and the East will be face to face with all the problems which are the puzzle of the statesmen of the West. As a matter of fact some of these problems have already appeared.

If Japan is to fulfil her mission two elements in her society must be kept in check by her statesmen acting in harmony with the highest principles which inspire that mission. These are Militarism and Commercial Egotism. An army and a navy are, under present conditions, necessary for the existence of the Empire, while commerce should be the chief means of her economic development. But if the soldier and the trader are not kept under some degree of statesmanlike control, they are capable of becoming the most

formidable, though unconscious, enemies, not only of the Japanese Empire, but also of all the countries with which she has relations, either commercial or political. The "soul of Japan" has been able to inspire the people to deeds which have been the wonder and admiration of the world. Probably its most difficult task is to conquer that aggressive selfishness which is too often the result of the materialism of Western civilisation, and which is embodied in militarism and the equally heartless commercialism which are its greatest curses. Unless it accomplishes this task it will fail in its mission. These two evils are the root causes not only of almost all the grave social problems which confront modern society in the West, but also of the international difficulties which lead to war and all its attendant evils.

CHAPTER V

JAPAN AND THE PACIFIC AREA

THE great victories of Japan in the war with Russia profoundly altered the conditions of the problems affecting the countries in the Far East, and caused her influence to be felt, to a greater or less extent, ^{Importance of the Pacific area.} in almost every part of the world. This is especially true of the countries in the Pacific area; and in the future it is certain that she will throw all her intelligence and foresight into the problems which will arise.

Thoughtful politicians and writers, in both Europe and America, have long recognised the important position which the Pacific area was destined to take in the history of the world. In a speech in the United States Senate, delivered on July 29, 1852, Mr. William H. Seward, a Secretary of State, said: "Even the discovery of this continent and its islands, and the organisation of society and government upon them, grand and important as these events have been, were but conditional, preliminary, and conciliary to the more sublime result now in the act of consummation—the reunion of the two civilisations, which parting on the plains of Asia four thousand years ago, and travelling ever after in opposite directions around the world, now meet again on the coasts and islands of the Pacific Ocean. Certainly no mere human event of equal dignity and importance has ever occurred upon the earth. It will be followed by the equalisation of the condition of society and the restoration of the unity of the human family. Who does not see that henceforth every year European

commerce, European politics, European thoughts and activity, although actually gaining greater force, and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will ultimately sink in importance ; while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter? Who does not see that this movement must effect our own complete emancipation from what remains of European influence and prejudice, and in turn develop the American opinion and influence which shall remould constitutional laws and customs in the land that is first greeted by the rising sun?" At the time when these words were uttered they must have appeared to many hearers and readers as the wild dreams of an unfettered fancy, but those who are living to-day are better able to appreciate their deep significance. In the interval which has elapsed since they were spoken, much has happened which has been in the direction of the fulfilment of the prophecy which they contain, and recent events have shown that Japan will take a most important part in the further evolution which will certainly take place. Her leading statesmen have shown that they recognise very clearly the magnitude of the task which lies before them, and they have not failed to impress on their countrymen the importance of the duties which they will be called upon to undertake. When the words which have been quoted were uttered, the Pacific Ocean was the Ocean of the future, now it is the Ocean of the present, and there can be little doubt that the influence of Japan will be a dominating factor in the situation, while behind her are the immense resources and potentialities not only of China, but of the whole of the Far East. The future importance of the Pacific area, from the point of view of industry and commerce, is gradually being recognised by all the great nations of the world, and all of them are anxious to share in the prosperity which is before it. Hence a good deal has been said and written about "the coming struggle for the Pacific," meaning by that the efforts which each nation will make to secure what it considers

its legitimate share in commerce and political influence. Whether that struggle will be peaceful or warlike only the future will reveal. We can only hope that reason and friendliness will prevail sufficiently to allow it to be peaceful, and recent events seem to show that this hope will be realised.

As has already been pointed out, the geographical position of Japan gives her a great advantage, not only from a commercial but also from a military and naval point of view. If we look at the marvellous Pacific coast-line of Asia, stretching from Singapore to Vladivostock, with the vast countries of Siberia, Korea, China, the Philippines and the neighbouring islands, with Australia and British India within comparatively easy reach, and then turn to the opposite Pacific coast of America, stretching from Alaska to Patagonia, with the vast countries of Canada, the United States, South America, and the rest, and imagine the population which will be in them by the end of this century and the possible developments of trade and industry, we are almost overwhelmed by the potentialities of the position.

The factors in the problems connected with the Pacific area are both numerous and complex, and space will allow us to mention the more important of them only. There are, of course, first of all, the great developments in every department of national life which have taken place in Japan and the consequent high position which she has won for herself among the great nations of the world. In the preceding chapters an outline has been given of the more important of these developments, and of the international relations of Japan. In this chapter we will consider some of the new problems with which she has been confronted on the Pacific, especially in Formosa and Korea. In the former she is carrying out a most important scheme of colonisation and internal development, while in the latter she has on hand what is probably one of the most difficult problems of the day, Japan's unhesitating insistence upon her rights, her vast programme of naval and military expansion, her increasing ambitions in

Factors in the
problems of the
Pacific area.

commerce and industry, and her phenomenal progress along the lines of Western civilisation and general achievement have seemed to raise the suspicion that she meant to be aggressive not only in trade, but also in political matters affecting the interests of Great Britain and other nations of the Occident. But it is overlooked that it was the action of European Powers which was the immediate cause of her apparent aggressiveness. Her ever-increasing interests in the Pacific, as well as a high sense of her own dignity as a new member of the first-class Powers, entail (under present conditions) the maintenance of a first-class army and navy, while her poverty makes the pushing of her commercial and industrial development a stern necessity; so that many of the incidents and movements that suggest possible collisions with Occidental interests are simply the result of that natural and healthy awakening which Occidental influences have wrought within the Empire. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance does not suggest a combination of Great Britain and Japan against all comers on the Pacific. As interpreted in accordance with its aim of peace, it simply means that these two nations stand for the integrity and neutrality of the Pacific as the arena of international commerce and mutual contribution to the world's civilisation. Japan in no way reveals any intention of being more exclusive in her enjoyment of privileges afforded by her unique position on the Pacific than is her ally in her splendid isolation in the North-east Atlantic. It is under the ægis of this ideal that Japan has instructed her citizens to receive and abide by the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Although Russia has been checked in her ambitions on the Pacific, the near future will be a period of anxiety to all who are in any way responsible for the guidance of affairs in the Far East. That guidance will require to be not only wise but firm, so that the forces at work may be kept under control. The development of the power of the people, not only in Russia but also in the other countries concerned, offers the greatest hope of a peaceful solution.

The future of China opens up immense possibilities in the Pacific. The development of her national resources and of her industry and commerce would revolutionise economic conditions in the Far East, and in these the example and influence of Japan will have most important results. The external problems will involve all that is connected with her foreign trade and its relations to that of other countries, as well as the more difficult problem of Chinese immigration, which has already raised some very serious international questions.

The advent of the United States of America as an Oriental Power, by its possession of Hawaii and the Philippine Islands and its increasing interest in the trade of the Far East, is one of the most significant events of modern times ; while the completion of the Panama Canal will raise many new problems of an international character, not only in commerce, but also in politics. These will not only affect the United States, but also Canada and South America, in their relations to other countries in their struggle for the trade of the Pacific. The future of Australasia, in its relations not only to Japan and China but also the continents of North and South America, is a subject of great interest and importance, and it is, of course, bound up with the future of the British Empire as a whole, and especially of its Eastern dependencies.

FORMOSA

Formosa is now an integral part of the Japanese Empire, having been annexed to it on the termination of the war between Japan and China in 1895, and the developments which have taken place since that time are sufficient proof of the colonising power of the Japanese, and of the influence for good which they will have in their contact with races which are lower than they in the scale of civilisation. It is, however, unnecessary to enter into details, as the literature about Formosa is already sufficiently complete to supply

information on all the most important points. The large volume on *The Island of Formosa*, by James W. Davidson, Consul of the United States for Formosa, will be found most interesting by general readers, while more detailed information with regard to recent developments will be found in *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, by Yosaburo Takekoshi, Member of the Japanese Diet, and in the chapters on Formosa in *Japan by the Japanese*, edited by Alfred Stead. These may be supplemented by the official reports of General Count Katsura and General Baron Kodama, formerly Governor-General of Formosa, and of Dr. (now Baron) Shimpei Goto, formerly Civil Governor, and by the reports of the British and United States Consuls, which contain information of special interest to foreign merchants. All that is necessary meantime, therefore, is a mere outline of past and present conditions.

Mr. Takekoshi's book was written chiefly for the purpose of disproving the opinion, which he thinks is held by Western nations, that on their shoulders rests the responsibility of colonising the yet unopened portions of this globe and extending to the inhabitants the benefits of civilisation, and he insists that the Japanese rising from the ocean in the extreme Orient, wish, as a nation, to take part in this great and glorious work. He admits that some people are inclined to question whether they possess the ability requisite for such a task, and, in order to dispel this doubt, he made a very careful study not only of the island, but also of almost all that had been written about it, and he has prepared a very valuable compendium of information with regard to it. The "Bibliography of Formosa," which he has appended to his book, shows that there is no scarcity of material for those who wish to make a careful study of all that relates to the island.

From early Japanese records a good deal is to be learned about the history of Formosa and the relations Japan had with it, but it is sufficient to note, meantime, that the first knowledge of it came to Europe from the Dutch.

Wishing to share with the Spaniards and Portuguese in the lucrative trade of the Far East, their East India Company effected a settlement in the Pescadores in 1622 ;

but the Chinese authorities objected to this, History of
Formosa.
with the result that the new comers removed

to the little known, but much larger, island of Formosa. Dutch rule lasted there from 1624 till 1661, and affairs were administered by a Dutch Governor with the members of his Council, who had all to report to colonial headquarters at Batavia. They combined with their efforts for the furtherance of trade the propagation of the Christian religion and no fewer than twenty-seven ordained pastors came out from the homeland to engage in the latter service, who, besides attending to their true official duties, superintended the labours of the Dutch schoolmasters, and reduced at least three of the aboriginal dialects to a written form.

The peace which China had enjoyed for nearly three hundred years under the Ming dynasty was rudely disturbed, first by Japanese pirates, then by Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea, and twenty years later by the Manchu uprising, which ended in the overthrow of the Mings and the coming into power of the present dynasty ; the whole empire was thrown into disorder, and thousands of the people attempted to escape the troubles by crossing the sea, some to Formosa, others to Japan. One of the latter married a Japanese lady in 1624, who bore him a son, whom his parents called Fukumatsu, but who is better known as Koxinga. The father was really a pirate, who traded or raided as opportunity offered, and his son soon distinguished himself in the same business. The thriving Dutch colony in Formosa soon awakened the covetousness of people living under less favoured conditions, and under the leadership of Koxinga the Dutch were driven out. After a long siege, worn out with disappointment, fatigue, and famine, the little garrison was compelled to surrender, all the public property falling into the hands of the enemy, the brave but heavy-hearted defenders being allowed to depart in their only remaining

ship. Koxinga died a miserable death after having been king of Formosa for little more than twelve months. He was succeeded by his son, who reigned for twelve years. His grandson was very young when he succeeded his father in the government of Formosa, and, finding it increasingly difficult to maintain his independence alongside the growing success of the great Manchu authority, he tendered his submission in 1683, thus bringing Formosa under direct control of the Emperor at Peking; and this continued until it was ceded to Japan in 1895, after the war with China. In the interval, it figured in history on several occasions, but into details of these we cannot meantime enter. It may be noted, however, that the Chinese troops in the island at the time of cession attempted to establish a republic, but it was very short-lived. The whole of the Chinese Mandarinate left the island, which at once passed under the control of the Japanese, who were not long in making their influence felt; and it is admitted by all impartial witnesses, that their influence has been largely, if not entirely, for good. One of their first acts was the issue of a proclamation forbidding the importation of opium, except for medicinal purposes, thus following the example of what had been done in their own country when intercourse with foreigners was resumed. It was, however, impossible to carry out such an extreme measure, on account of the hold which the opium habit had got on the people, and strict regulations were made regarding it; the intention, however, being, as soon as possible, to prohibit its use, except for medicinal purposes.

In 1896 the Japanese Government laid down a general line of policy to be followed in Formosa, and most of the projects then advanced are now accomplished facts. The following were the chief proposals: (1) the development of the administrative organisation; (2) the enlargement of the police force; (3) the improvement of sanitation and the settlement of the opium question; (4) the improvement of shipping facilities; and (5) railway construction, road-making, and harbour works.

Formosa under
the Japanese.

For details of what has been done in these departments reference must be made to the books already mentioned.

For some years after the Japanese took possession of Formosa, they had great trouble not only from the savage aborigines, but also from sections of the Chinese who were unwilling to be under Japanese rule. By the year 1902, order was very well restored, but even yet an iron hand has to be kept upon the turbulent element. All the brigands who surrendered are registered, and are under the strictest surveillance, and, if they act improperly, they are very summarily dealt with. Since the above-mentioned date, Formosa has advanced by leaps and bounds, and the results which have been attained under Japanese Government, in the most unfavourable conditions, compare well with what would have been achieved by Western Powers. Ten years ago Japan had to contribute a subsidy of £694,000 to the finances of the island, and to-day it is virtually self-supporting. Under Chinese control, the annual revenue of the island was from four to five million yen, whereas it is now over thirty million yen. This has not been done by impoverishing the people, but by developing the resources. No doubt the taxes are higher than they were, but they are of a definite amount, and the people are not subject to the arbitrary squeezes of the tax-collectors. The majority of the people are well employed and receive good wages, which enable them to be well fed. Justice is now obtainable for the first time by the poorest coolie, and property is safe.

Many of the officials are Japanese educated in Japan, but the Japanese Government fully recognise that the great progress which Japan has made is because of the good education in every department which is now available, and they are determined to give the same advantages to Formosa, which is now an integral part of the Japanese Empire. Common schools have been started in all parts of the island where they were likely to be successful, and a Language School and a Normal School have also been opened, and a beginning has been made in technical education, in order

to train assistant officials in the departments of telegraphy, engineering, and agriculture. There are also several missionary schools in which good work has been done.

In the matter of public works, roads, of course, received the first attention, and there are now over 6000 miles of public roads, in addition to many others of a smaller kind. A beginning had been made in railway construction under the Chinese, but the work was very badly done, and the management was very inefficient. The Japanese have constructed a railway extending over the whole length of the island, the greater part of which is in working order, and branches will be connected with it as opportunity offers. Communications by sea are carried on by the vessels of the Nippon Yusen Kwaisha and the Osaka Shosen Kwaisha, and there are now six regular sailings each month between Formosa and Japan. Those ports on both sides of the island, which have hitherto had no means of communication with other ports, are now visited regularly four times a month, thus bringing the whole island into close connection with Japan, and making the people, even in the remotest regions, feel that they have the support of the Government. Harbours, breakwaters, docks, and lighthouses are built, or are building, where formerly there was only delay, danger, and shipwreck. Post offices, telegraph and telephone systems are to be found everywhere, and in some cities electric light. Cities are given parks and gardens, the streets are widened and an adequate sewage system laid down, and regular modern water-works are now found in three of the largest cities. Experimental farms are being started for the purpose of improving agriculture, and special attention is being paid to the cultivation of tea and sugar-cane.

The decree forbidding the importation of opium, except for medicinal purposes, of course, did not settle the opium question, as it is grown in considerable quantities in the island, but it has been made a Government monopoly, and its use is strictly regulated. Mr. Takekoshi says: "Inasmuch as this vicious habit cannot be stamped out at

once, whatever efforts are made to improve the sanitary conditions of the island, the statistics must always show a high death-rate among the opium smokers. The authorities have taken steps to prevent the increase of this evil, but it would be impossible for the ablest statesman to lessen the number of the present opium smokers. This can only be achieved by the advance of education and the lapse of time. For Japan's own sake, for the sake of the Formosans themselves, and for the sake of the whole human race, I hope the happy day may speedily come when the last opium smoker shall have disappeared from Formosa."

Besides having the opium traffic in its own hands, the Government are monopolising and operating tobacco, salt, camphor, railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, so that there is being developed in Formosa an extensive system of State socialism, the progress of which will be watched with interest by the other countries of the world. Formosa is the world's chief producer of camphor. It will be interesting to watch the effects of this practical world-monopoly, as care must be taken not to kill the goose which lays the golden eggs. Camphor trees are being cut down at the rate of 10,000 a year, which must soon tell on the supply; but meantime the new system of afforestation which has been introduced will replace all the trees destroyed. In any case, if prices are raised unduly, substitutes will be found for the purposes for which camphor is used, with the possible result that it may be unsaleable at a profit. The Japanese Government has clearly shown that Formosa is retained in their possession for the good of its inhabitants. The large sum of 140,000,000 yen has been spent for the improvement of the island since it came into the possession of the Japanese, and many schemes for its development are awaiting time and means. The annual value of the import and export trade was only 20,000,000 yen, now it is over 48,000,000.

A recent writer¹ on Formosa has truly said: "The Japanese deserve full credit, for they have spent heart,

¹ W. C. Gregg, *American Review of Reviews*, August 1908.

brain, muscle, and money to make a pleasing, prosperous community out of a sad bit of desolate anarchy," and Baron Shimpei Goto, the first Civil Governor of the island, is fully justified in saying: "We rejoice to report that, thanks to the Great Guardian Spirit, who through unbroken ages has continually guided His Majesty the Emperor and each one of his Imperial Ancestors, and thanks also to the generous way in which the Formosan Administration has been upheld by the State, our plans for the colonisation of the island have been crowned with a great measure of success."

KOREA

The problems in Formosa are comparatively simple when they are compared with those which Japan has to face in Korea. Formosa is an integral part of the Japanese Empire, and, as soon as its conditions will allow, its government will be the same as the other parts of Japan. Korea has long been in most unfortunate conditions. Its geographical position has placed it between opposing forces, which have made it in modern times the cause of two great wars, one of them the greatest the world has ever seen. The result has been to leave Japan dominant in the country, and with the difficult task before her of reconciling her own national interests with the welfare of the people of Korea, and without raising the hostility of the world. When, therefore, her action is criticised, it ought to be remembered that her freedom was limited by political conditions. Since the termination of the war with Russia she has received both praise and blame for her conduct in Korea, and no statement which can be made with regard to that conduct is likely to satisfy all parties. In some cases the praise has been extreme, and in others the blame has been most unjust.

A short time ago Prince Ito, the Resident-General in Korea, addressing a meeting of newspaper reporters, declared

that Japan is engaged in solving the Korean problem under the close observation of the world, and that upon her success or failure depends largely her international reputation. That being so, it may be taken for granted that great care will be taken to uphold that reputation, for, as we have seen, this has been the strongest motive of the Japanese in all their efforts. Prince Ito assured the meeting referred to, that Japan will make justice and equality the dominant ideas in her treatment of the Koreans, and will labour steadily to lead them into the paths of progress. At the same time, he said, the fate of Korea may be said to be in the hands of the Koreans themselves. During my residence in Japan I was closely in touch with Prince (then Mr.) Ito, and therefore can claim to know a good deal about the man who is responsible for political conditions in Korea, and, moreover, I have not only read what has been said or written about the country in recent years, but I have also obtained information direct from friends who are actively engaged in the administrative work of Korea, and from others in Japan who know the facts accurately. It is, of course, impossible to enter into the detailed discussion of all the problems which have arisen, all that can be attempted meantime is an outline of the more important events, and a short statement of present conditions. I cannot hope that that statement will please all parties, but I shall endeavour to make it as fair as possible. The critics of Japan should remember a little more carefully than some of them seem to do, that the task of Japan in Korea is very hard, not only on account of the complexity of the problems involved, but also because of the difficulty of securing reliable agents to carry out the details of the work. Japan is still in a transition stage, and is fully able to utilise all her best men, and for the work in Korea she has not always been able to secure the services of those who were best able to uphold her reputation. Some of those in subordinate positions have made serious mistakes, and others may have acted in an arbitrary or even a cruel manner, but it is unfair to the Japanese Government to

judge of their policy and their administration from the actions of individuals, which were probably more regretted by the members of the Government than by any others. The disturbed condition of Korea is easily explained, and is not unlike that of Burma, for some time after it was annexed by Britain, and was brought about by the same causes, namely, a feeling of offended patriotism on the part of some of the people, and a desire for plunder on the part of others, combined, no doubt, with the want of experience of those in charge of the administration of the country.

The status of China during the war with Russia was peculiar. Had no part of her territory been made the scene

China and
Korea during
the war with
Russia.

of hostilities she would at least theoretically have been neutral. Russia held a lease of the Kwantung district, including Port Arthur and Dalny, and, although she possessed railways in Manchuria, the titular sovereignty and legal ownership belonged to the Chinese Government. Nevertheless, so long as Russia's military forces occupied Manchuria, she assumed the rôle of *de facto* sovereignty, and was liable to attack there by her foe. International negotiations took place, with the result that China formally announced her neutrality on February 13, 1904, but observed that, "in Manchuria, however, there are localities still in occupation by Foreign Powers, where the enforcement of such rules of neutrality, it is feared, will be impossible." Japan, on February 13 and 17, gave assurances to the United States and China respectively that she would "respect the neutrality of China so long as it is respected by Russia," excepting the region occupied by Russia. On February 19 Russia accepted the American proposal, subject to the reservation that "neutralisation in no case can be extended to Manchuria, the territory of which by the force of events will serve as the field of military operations." We need not enter into the details of the arrangements which further limited the war-zone. The question was sometimes asked why China did not unite with Japan in repelling Russia. Probably she was quite willing

to do so, but the Japanese authorities recognised that she would be a source of weakness rather than of strength. Her army was small, and what was of it was not very effective, and her navy was practically non-existent; and, if she had allied herself to Japan in the contest with Russia, all her coasts would have had to be protected by the Japanese navy, which would thus have been prevented from taking effective defensive action, therefore Japan was extremely anxious that China should maintain her neutrality very strictly.

The position of Korea was even more peculiar than that of China during the war with Russia. Its independence had been declared from time to time not only by Japan and Russia, but also by Great Britain, France, and China. Prior to the war, Korea, on January 25, 1904, declared her intention of maintaining neutrality in the event of war. But, as North Korea was occupied by Cossacks, and several other places by the Japanese, it became the scene of military operations, and some curious international problems were raised. On February 23, 1904, the Japanese Minister at Seoul concluded a protocol with the Korean Government defining her relations with Japan. By this instrument Japan once more "guaranteed the independence and the territorial integrity of the Korean Empire," and further "ensured the safety and repose of the Imperial House of Korea," and Korea agreed to accept faithfully Japanese advice concerning the administration, to grant to Japan the right to take all necessary measures, and to occupy any places necessary from a strategic point of view, "in case the welfare of the Imperial House of Korea, or the territorial integrity of Korea is endangered by the aggression of a third power, or by internal disturbances." She thus established a *de facto* protectorate over Korea, a position which was strengthened by an agreement made on August 22, 1904, by which the Korean Government could not conclude treaties or conventions with Foreign Powers, or grant their subjects concessions, without previously having consulted the Government

of Japan. In April 1905 the Government of Korea agreed to "transfer and assign the control and administration of the post, telegraph and telephone service in Korea (except the telephone service exclusively pertaining to the Imperial Household) to the Imperial Japanese Government." In May 1904, when Korea denounced all her treaties with Russia and all concessions granted to Russian subjects, the Russian Government declared that it would "regard as null and void all acts of the Korean Government while under Japanese tutelage," but, so long as any part of the country remained in the war-zone, the force which any agreements had was quite uncertain. That uncertainty was removed by the Treaty of Portsmouth, which was concluded between Japan and Russia on the termination of the war.

In a previous chapter¹ a sketch has been given of the relations of Japan and Korea, up till the outbreak of the war between Japan and Russia. Article II of the Treaty of Portsmouth, which marked the conclusion of peace between these two countries, stipulated that, "The Imperial Russian Government, acknowledging that Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military, and economical interests, engages neither to obstruct nor to interfere with measures for the guidance, protection, and control which the Imperial Government of Japan may find it necessary to take in Korea. It is understood that Russian subjects in Korea shall be treated in exactly the same manner as the subjects and citizens of other Powers; that is to say, they shall be placed on the same footing as the subjects and citizens of the most favoured nation. It is also agreed that, in order to avoid causes of misunderstanding, the two high contracting parties will abstain on the Russian-Korean frontier from taking any military measures which may menace the security of Russian or Korean territory." By this treaty the Russian Government not only definitely relinquished all the political interests she had previously claimed to possess in Korea,

Position of
Korea after
the war
with Russia.

¹ pp. 23-25.

but also recognised in all important particulars the rights acquired by Japan through the conventions made with Korea during the war.

The war with Russia, which was fought over the relations between Japan and Korea, thus terminated the second main period in the history of these relations, the first being the end of the China-Japan War, which terminated a relation with China which had continued for centuries, but which left Korea unfit to maintain her independence when conferred upon it as the gift of another nation. She became the centre of political intrigues, and proved her inherent inability to control herself under any existing conditions of her government or of her system of civilisation. The continued attempts of Russia to supersede the controlling influence of Japan in Korea were put a stop to, but it soon became evident that Japan would require to take a more active part in the Government of Korea if she was to be saved from both internal and external troubles, and in November 1905 Marquis Ito went to Korea, as Imperial Japanese Commissioner, to undertake the difficult task of making arrangements which would secure for both nations the largest possible measure of good.

Marquis Ito was the bearer of a letter from his own Emperor to the Emperor of Korea, the substance of which was as follows :—

“Japan, in self-defence and for the preservation of the peace and security of the Far East, had been forced to go to war with Russia ; but now, after a struggle of twenty months, hostilities were ended. During their continuance the Emperor of Korea and his people no doubt shared the anxiety felt by the Emperor and people of Japan. In the mind of His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, the most absorbing thought and purpose now was to safeguard the future peace and security of the two Empires, and to augment and strengthen the friendly relations existing between them. Unfortunately, however, Korea was not yet in a state of good defence, nor

Korea as a
Japanese
Protectorate.

was the basis for a system of effective self-defence yet created. Her weakness in these regards was, in itself, a menace to the peace of the Far East as well as to her own security. That this was unhappily the case was a matter of as much regret to His Majesty as it could be to the Emperor of Korea; and for this reason the safety of Korea was as much a matter of anxiety to him as was that of his own country. His Majesty had already commanded his Government to conclude the Protocols of February and August, 1904, for the defence of Korea. Now, in order to preserve the peace which had been secured, and to guard against future dangers arising from the defenceless condition of Korea, it was necessary that the bonds which united the two countries should be closer and stronger than ever before. Having this end in view, His Majesty had commanded his Government to study the question, and to devise means of attaining this desirable result. The preservation and protection of the dignity, privileges, and tranquillity of the Imperial House of Korea would, as a matter of course, be one of the first considerations kept in view. His Majesty felt sure that if the Emperor of Korea would carefully consider the general situation, and its bearing upon the interests and welfare of his country and people, he would decide to take the advice now earnestly tendered to him."

After several audiences between the Emperor of Korea and Marquis Ito, a plan for the future government of the country was formulated, which might be summed up as follows: The Japanese Government, with consent of the Government of Korea, to have the right to control and direct the foreign affairs of Korea, while the internal autonomy of the Empire would be maintained; and, of course, His Majesty's Government, under His Majesty's direction, would continue as at the present time. It is impossible to enter into details of all the discussions and negotiations which followed. A fair account of these has been given by Professor Ladd,¹ and to that reference must be made.

¹ Ladd, *In Korea with Marquis Ito*, chap. xi.

The outcome of them all was, that on November 17, 1905, with the object of strengthening the principle of solidarity which united the two Empires, a Convention was concluded which provided that the complete control and direction of Korean affairs shall hereafter rest with the Japanese Government, and that a Resident-General shall reside in Seoul, "primarily for the purpose of taking charge of and directing matters relating to diplomatic affairs." It also provided for the appointment of Residents, subordinate to the Resident-General, who shall occupy the open ports and such other places in Korea as the Japanese Government may deem necessary. Article IV stipulates that all treaties and agreements subsisting between Japan and Korea, not inconsistent with the provisions of the Convention itself, shall continue in force. Furthermore, Japan engaged to maintain the welfare and dignity of the Imperial House of Korea. In this way the Japanese Government in Korea was substituted for the Korean Government in all matters affecting the relations of foreign countries, and their nationals, to the peninsula. The retirement of the Foreign Legations followed logically and as a matter of course.¹ It is needless to say that this change of responsibility for the conduct of these relations was accepted without dissent or formal protest from the Governments of the civilised world. Indeed, with the exception of Russia, all the nations supremely interested had acknowledged already that, under the Protocols of 1904, Korea had lost its claim to be recognised as an independent State in respect of its foreign affairs.

The efforts of the Residency-General to effect the needed reforms were successful only to a limited extent, on account of the intrigues of the Emperor and some of his councillors in co-operation with native and foreign schemes. These intrigues reached a crisis in July 1907, when a delegation of three Koreans arrived at the Hague, who claimed to have been authorised by the Emperor of Korea, in a document bearing his seal, to take part in the Conference as the

¹ Cf. Ladd, p. 279.

delegates of Korea. No member of the Korean Cabinet appeared to have had any knowledge that such a step was about to be taken, and the conclusion followed that the act was ascribable to the Emperor alone, as instigated, no doubt, by a coterie of irresponsible native counsellors and their obscure foreign coadjutors, whose mischievous advice had already so often led His Majesty astray.

The Tokyo Government acted with promptness and decision in dealing with the latest phase of the Korean problem. Viscount Hayashi, Minister for Foreign Affairs, was appointed to convey in person the views of the Government to His Excellency Marquis Ito, and was commissioned with the disposal of Korean affairs after consultation with the Marquis on the spot.¹ Viscount Hayashi bore with him several somewhat different plans, between which decision was to be reached after his arrival at Seoul; but all of them contemplated leaving the details very largely to the Resident-General. It is pertinent to say, *with authority*, in this connection, that none of these plans included, much less suggested or required, the abdication of the Emperor; although Marquis Ito had become quite conclusively convinced that the reform of Korean affairs could never be accomplished with the co-operation of the present ruler of the land, or indeed otherwise than in spite of his utmost opposition.

The Korean Emperor continued to disavow the Hague delegation and to suggest the punishment of its members, but his Cabinet did not take his disavowal seriously, and pressed upon him the necessity of his abdication in the interests of the country at large. After considerable discussion and negotiation, on July 19 the Emperor agreed to retire in favour of the Crown Prince, and a decree announcing this fact was published in the *Official Gazette* at a later hour the same morning. The Emperor sent a message to Marquis Ito stating that he had abdicated his throne in obedience to the dictate of his own conviction, and that his action was not the result of any outside advice or pressure.

¹ Cf. Ladd, p. 419.

He added that in reliance upon the Resident-General he entrusted him with the power of preventing or suppressing acts of violence. After various consultations with the Korean Cabinet on July 24, Marquis Ito handed to the Korean Government a document conveying Japan's proposals as the basis of a new Japanese-Korean agreement, which after some modification were agreed to by the new Emperor and the Korean Government. It definitely placed the enactment of all laws and ordinances, the administration, of all important Korean Government affairs, and all official appointments which relate to internal administration, under the control of the Japanese Resident-General. Its preamble renews the assertion which has governed the policy of Marquis Ito throughout—namely, that the motive is to be found in “the early attainment of the prosperity and strength of Korea, and the speedy promotion of the welfare of the Korean people.” Moreover, it pledges the Korean Government to keep judicial affairs distinct from administrative affairs. With regard to the appointment and dismissal of officials of the higher rank, whether native or foreign, it is specified that the consent of the Resident-General must be secured; and also that his recommendations for the appointment of Japanese to official positions shall be followed. Taken in connection with the Convention of November 1905, therefore, the present condition of Korea is undoubtedly that of a country completely dependent upon Japan for internal government and also for commercial and diplomatic relations with all foreign countries. Marquis Ito visited Tokyo in August 1907, when he was raised by the Emperor to the rank of Prince, as a mark of the services he had rendered to Japan and Korea. Japan was delivered from the constant menace which the peninsula had hitherto been, and Korea was bound to her in such a way as to make it her duty to do all in her power for her prosperity and the welfare of her people. The problems involved, no doubt, are difficult, and success will not be immediately forthcoming. The progress which has been made towards

their solution is described in an interesting and very complete report issued by the Japanese Residency-General, to which a reference must be made for details. In that report "it is hoped that the progress of Korea, unhampered by political jealousies and international rivalries, which have been so productive of so much harm in the past, will continue uninterruptedly under the guidance of the Resident-General, aided by the united efforts of the Korean Government and its patriotic subjects; and further, that the Koreans, whose condition was greatly impoverished, will gradually enjoy prosperity, and will assimilate the advantages of modern civilisation." Whatever the results may be, the world may rest assured not only of the ability, but also of the wisdom, the honesty, and the benevolence of Prince Ito, the Japanese Resident-General.¹

RUSSIA

The defeat of Russia in the war with Japan for ever dispelled the dream of Russian domination in the Pacific area. I am quite aware that this will be called
 Russia and the Pacific. a rash statement, and I shall probably be reminded that Russia never gives up her ideal of territorial aggrandisement, and that, while she may be driven back, she utilises her repulse to make herself stronger for a new effort. I am further likely to be informed that a great empire must either advance or perish.

While it must be admitted that past history seems to justify these two opinions, it must be recognised that the present conditions of the world are very different from any which ever existed in the past, and that future conditions will probably differ still more. The engineer has shrunk the world into small dimensions, and he has set in action many forces which are ultimately more powerful than armies

¹ Prince Ito recently resigned the position of Resident-General in Korea and is now President of the Japanese Privy Council. He has been succeeded as Resident-General by Viscount Sone, who will carry out his policy, and no doubt, to a certain extent, under his advice and guidance.

and navies. The nations of the world are getting to know each other in a way which was formerly quite impossible, and they are gradually becoming one not only in industry and trade, but also in the higher aspirations of the human mind. The countries in the East are awakening to a sense of their power, and a fully awakened China allied to a fully equipped Japan would be able to upset all preconceived ideas, not only of military and naval strength, but also of industrial and commercial importance. The saying that a great empire must either advance in the way of territorial aggrandisement or perish is one of those platitudes which pass for profound wisdom with the unthinking. Every one who recognises the evolution which is going on, ^{New conditions.} not only in every country in the world, but also in all parts of the universe, will admit the truth there is in it, but they will question the meaning which is usually attached to it. Real advance in civilisation and happiness is not measured by increase of territory or by the development of military and naval power, or even by the extension of industry and commerce. These should only be means to an end, the improvement of the welfare of humanity, and, if any one of them, or, indeed, all of them, be too exclusively cultivated, then instead of advance we may have retrogression and degradation. The conscience of the world is awakening to the fact that what at present we call progress or civilisation is scarcely deserving of the name. In many respects Japan and China, when they were shut off from the other countries of the world, afforded some object lessons which we would do well to take to heart. The Czar of Russia has, on two occasions, taken a leading part in bringing together a conference of the nations of the world to consider all the problems of peace and war, and, although he may have seemed to have been, to a large extent, powerless in the hands of his bureaucracy, and to have had little effect on the other nations of the world, there can be little doubt that the movement which he started will gain increasing momentum, not simply from the action

of rulers and governments, but also from the intelligent opinions of the great bodies of the peoples who have ultimately to bear the burdens of war, and it will profoundly affect the foreign policy not only of Russia, but of all the nations of the world.

For more than half-a-century, in fact since the Crimean War, there has been a silent struggle between St. Petersburg and London. The results of that war were the means of diverting a great part of the energy of Russia to the development of her industries and the expansion of her territories and influence in the direction of the Pacific Ocean. The rapid extension of Russia across Northern Asia is easily explained when we look at the geographical conditions. The Siberian steppes offer facilities for unlimited expansion, and the importance to a country almost completely land-locked or ice-bound on its European frontiers naturally drove it to the Pacific shores in search of ports which were open to the trade routes of the world. The construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway intensified the need for such ports. At first it was intended that its terminus should be at Vladivostock, and, while it was constructed to that port, it soon became evident that it was only a stepping-stone to one farther south and ice-free all the year round. The attempts to gain this led to the war with Japan, the results of which profoundly changed the whole position.

At the same time it ought to be stated that British statesmen recognised the reasonableness of the ambitions on the part of Russia, when looked at simply from her own point of view, and probably this accounts for the seeming weakness of British policy and action, which had the appearance of being compounded of drift and bluff. Sir George Sydenham Clarke (now Governor of Bombay), an eminent authority on the subject, has said: "From first to last the policy of hostility to Russia has proved an absolute failure. It has not in the slightest degree retarded her Asiatic expansion. It has bred and maintained misunderstanding and ill-feeling between two great nations. It has directly pro-

voked measures of reprisal, which have entailed commercial and other loss upon the people of Great Britain and of India. It has not conduced to our national dignity. Its drift is towards war upon some minor issue, such as that of Penjdeh, which experts alone could pretend to understand—war from which no national advantage could be obtained. If it could be finally buried in oblivion, Europe as well as Great Britain would be a gainer. Reflection will show that, even after two centuries of expansion, Russia has not occupied a square yard of territory which is now, or has ever been, desired by Great Britain. This cannot be said of France, of Germany, or of the United States. In such circumstances, it is specially difficult to believe that a direct understanding with Russia in Asia—such an understanding as was reached with Germany in East Africa and in New Guinea, and as we are patiently seeking to obtain with France in West Africa—is impossible. Until Russia advances into a defined sphere of British influence, we have no grievance against her; until such a sphere is defined, we have no claim to arrest her advance. No policy is so dangerous as that of drift; no assumption is so gratuitous as that Russia is ‘our great enemy.’ To remove the long-standing antagonism between the two nations, and to substitute direct agreements between London and St. Petersburg for competitive manipulations of the dummy Government at Peking, would be a task worthy of a great statesman, and a powerful guarantee of the peace of the world.”¹

These opinions were expressed from the point of view of the interests of Great Britain, but, since they appeared in print (in 1898), the conditions have entirely changed, and Japan looked at the problems involved as they affected her national interests, and the result was a collision with Russia, in which Japan was victorious in every engagement both by land and by sea. This convinced the world of the reality of the power of Japan, and there can be no doubt that the recognition of this power was the immediate cause of a change of policy on the part of Russia, and of a desire to come to an

¹ *Russia's Sea Power*, pp. 186-7.

understanding with Great Britain wherever their interests seemed to collide. In North and South Europe, in Persia, in North Asia, and on the borders of India we find a Russian question which is a sort of nightmare to the countries concerned. The agreements which have been made, and the understandings which have been come to, are simply rather feeble attempts to remove that nightmare, at least in a partial manner. It is to be hoped, however, that they are only the first steps towards a more complete and more rational agreement between Great Britain and Russia with regard to their world-politics.

Russia has a sufficient task before her in developing her immense national resources and using them for the advancement of the welfare of her people, and the cultivation of amicable relations with Japan and China would guarantee all the facilities for trade and commerce. The population of Siberia is increasing at a very rapid rate, and one of the greatest migrations in history has been proceeding so quietly that the world generally has not noticed the movement. For several years before 1906 the emigration across the Ural mountains was about 60,000 annually, in 1906 it was 180,000, in 1907 it was 400,000, while in 1908 it was over 500,000. The accounts of Siberia brought home by the soldiers returning from the Russo-Japanese War impressed the poverty-stricken moujiks with glowing ideas of Siberia's wealth, and they gathered in colonies for the exodus. This rapid increase in population is certain to give a great impetus not only to agriculture, but also to trade and industry. That will be increased by the Trans-Siberian Railway, with its branches and its connection not only with the railways of China, but also with the steamers leaving the Pacific Coast for all parts of the world, and will lead to the rapid development of the resources of the country, attention to which will help to counteract the military and aggressive spirit of the bureaucratic officials.

It is very probable that that development will be

hastened by the aid of British and American skill and capital. Indeed, it is stated that a well-known American millionaire proposes to utilise some of his superfluous wealth in the erection of large factories in Siberia, comprising iron and steel works and machine works. Thus will be added another very important factor to the evolution which is going on in the Far East. When China is fully awakened, and when Japan is still further developed, and its external trade more fully organised, there will be a great movement of the centre of magnitude of the world's industry and commerce in the direction of the Pacific area. It is probably neither desirable nor necessary to take too long views of life, but, if the people of the West fail to observe the tendency of the evolution which is going on in the Far East, and prepare themselves for the altered conditions, their foreign trade will simply disappear.

The Russian bureaucracy have a most unfortunate way of contradicting by their actions the words of the highest authorities in their country. M. Izvolsky, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his much-applauded speech to the Duma, described Russia's relations with Japan as neighbourly in the present, and destined to become quite friendly in the future. The Conventions recently concluded between the two Powers dispelled the last cloudlet in the political firmament. Peaceful development is now and henceforth, according to M. Izvolsky, the great aim of both nations, and we must give him credit for believing what he asserted. Moreover, his forecast is repeated by Japanese statesmen, and confirmed by tangible facts of everyday experience. Yet, in face of all this, proposals are made by the Russian Ministry to construct the Amur Railway, so that Russia may have a means of communication with the Pacific coast, which lies entirely in Russian territory. The proposed railway must, therefore, be conceived by the Government as an enterprise of strategic significance. The line of reasoning they followed was presumably something like this: The Trans-Siberian Railway, which connects European Russia

with Vladivostock, is excellent in peace time, but it cannot be utilised during a campaign for the purpose of forwarding troops or materials of war because part of it passes through Chinese territory. Therefore, a line must be constructed which will keep in Russian territory from terminus to terminus, because if no such route were made, and if hostilities broke out, Transbaikalia would be liable to invasion and annexation. That argument, however, presupposes that hostilities are inevitable, and the construction of the line will help to convert a shadowy risk into a real possibility. Even military experts, however, doubt if the line when constructed would serve to avert the danger. During the recent war with Japan the railway conveying the Russian troops and materials ran through Chinese territory occupied by the Russians, who retreated from before the enemy, although the railway was behind them and secure from attack. The new line, on the other hand, will be in continual danger, whenever war is declared, along a stretch of one thousand miles, because Manchuria is being rapidly colonised by the Japanese, who will be able to co-operate with their troops in attacks on the railway. Moreover, it is difficult to conceive the Russian General Staff devising any plan by which a vast region almost devoid of inhabitants could be successfully defended at a distance of six thousand miles from the heart of the Empire. During the war with Japan the Russian army was to a large extent fed with the corn that grew in Manchuria, and without that source of supply no army of that struggle could have been supported there for a month. The money which will be spent on the Amur Railway will, from the strategic point in view, have been spent in vain ; or worse, for it will tend to foster the idea that a struggle is inevitable, and not only Russia but Japan and China will waste their means in preparing for it.

It has been argued that the construction of the Amur Railway will be justified because it will be the means of developing the resources of the territory through which it passes. No doubt this will be true to a certain extent, but

all such undertakings should be looked at from a financial and economic point of view. As a purely business undertaking the railway would be disastrous, and the large expenditure upon it may involve serious results on the financial conditions of Russia. These conditions will be intensified if large sums are spent on the construction of a large navy. The Duma rejected the naval proposals of the Government, but these were subsequently approved by the Council of State. If the warships are built, the Duma will be asked to vote the money, and then there is likely to be a severe constitutional crisis. The limited form of constitutional government which has been instituted in Russia must develop, for the window which has been opened to the West can never be shut in spite of all the opposition of the autocracy and bureaucracy. It is to be hoped that the Duma may be able to exercise sufficient influence to cause all the money and energy which can be spared to be utilised in developing the immense resources of the country and improving its administration. Even if the new projects do not imply any actively warlike designs, but are intended simply to place Russia in a situation to profit by any turn of events in the Far East, they will be of little use for this purpose, but will probably lead to disastrous consequences to Russia.

It is, of course, impossible to foretell the future relations of Japan and Russia, but this we can safely say, Future relations of Japan and Russia. that if they are not friendly it will not be the fault of Japan. She simply asks to be treated with justice, and to be allowed to develop on legitimate lines.

During the war with Russia Count Okuma said: "The China-Japan War was the outcome of the feeling that Korea, under the suzerainty of China, was a constant menace to the future prosperity of our Empire. The same feeling is the cause of the present war, for Korea in the possession of Russia means the loss of our national independence. How patient we were during the protracted and tedious negotiations with Russia all the world knows. The war is not the result of any racial hatred, or of any spirit of revenge, or of

aggressive designs. Having been forced upon us, it is purely defensive. When the war is concluded, the whole world will be surprised to see, as after the war with China, that not a trace of enmity or any ill-feeling exists towards our temporary enemy. Not even towards the Russians shall we cease to possess the feeling of amity which comes from confidence in our own strength, and from the fact that through 2500 years of our history we have never known defeat; and, as in the past, so in the future, it will be our sole guide in our efforts to attain a high stage of Western civilisation." That the wish for friendly relations with other nations is not simply a personal wish on the part of Count Okuma, but is a national sentiment, is clearly shown by an Imperial proclamation on April 21, 1895, in which the following passages occur: "We deem it that the development of the prestige of the country could be obtained only by peace. It is Our mission which We inherited from our ancestors that peace should be maintained in an effectual way. The foundations of the great policy of Our ancestors have been made more stable. We desire that, together with our people, We be specially guarded against arrogance or relaxation. It is what We highly object to, that the people should be arrogant by being puffed up with triumph, and despise others rashly, which would go towards losing the respect of Foreign Powers. Since the development of the nation can be obtained by peace, it is a divine duty imposed upon us by Our ancestors, and it has been Our intention and endeavour since Our accession to the Throne to maintain peace, so as to enjoy it constantly. . . . We are positively against insulting others and falling into idle pride by being elated by victories, and against losing the confidence of Our friendly States."

After the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese Convention of 1907, Mr. Yamaza, the Director of the Political Bureau of the Japanese Foreign Office, made a statement with regard to it in which he said: "The Russo-Japanese War was totally a defensive war on the part of Japan. We had absolutely

no aggressive intentions. The war came to a happy conclusion, but among the Russians there were people who sincerely feared that Japan, being dissatisfied with the Portsmouth Treaty, would wage another war. Another group of the Russians advocated a war of revenge against this country. The world also regarded the Portsmouth Treaty as a sort of truce, and expected the occurrence of another Russo-Japanese War. In face of these circumstances, the Governments of Russia and Japan concurred in holding the view that Japan and Russia must join hands and endeavour to preserve the peace permanently. This concurrence of view gave rise to the opening of negotiations for this purpose in December last. In February last a tangible basis was formed for the negotiations, which, being continually carried on, was concluded about the middle of last month. The Convention was signed on the 30th July.

“The principal points in the Convention are that Russia and Japan should respect the territorial preservation of each other and abstain from grabbing for territory by giving rise to further conflicts. Both countries have promised to respect the rights resulting from all the treaties concluded between them after the conclusion of peace, and from their treaties with China. With regard to the treaties with China, the principle has been limited to those rights not conflicting with the principle of equal opportunity for all countries. As the treaties with China had not been clearly known to each other, Japan and Russia exchanged copies of such treaties. We have also agreed to take all possible measures for upholding the principles of the territorial preservation and equal opportunity in China, so that the peace between these two countries may be assured for ever. In short, Japan and Russia, who were enemies till recently, have concluded the most intimate friendship between themselves. It is stated that China is deeply concerned about the conclusion of the present Convention. But China has in reality no cause to be anxious. The territorial preservation of China was initiated by the Anglo-German understanding,

made permanent by the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and perfectly guaranteed by the second Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the Franco-Japanese Arrangement, and lastly by the Russo-Japanese Convention. Rumours concerning Japan consenting in the Convention to the possession of Outer Mongolia by Russia are untrue. The principle of the preservation of the independence, territorial integrity and equal opportunity in China, holds valid in this Convention throughout the Chinese Empire, Mongolia included. China ought not to misunderstand the circumstance, but to rest easy, trusting in the sincerity of Japan."

In a recent interview the new Russian Ambassador to Japan, M. Malevitch, is reported as having said that the Amur Railway is intended solely to develop the resources of the regions through which it passes, and to encourage civilisation, and that Russia's position in Siberia was virtually the same as Japan's position in Korea. There are, he said, people in Japan who regard the building of the Amur Railway with suspicion, and there are men in Russia who look with apprehension at the expansion of Japan's naval and military forces ; but he believed that the former is purely economical, while the latter is recognised by sensible on-lookers as an inevitable adjunct of Japan's newly acquired position in Asia. He added that it is much to be desired that the people of the two Empires would lay aside mutual distrust and cultivate warm and friendly relations with each other. It is sincerely to be hoped that the future will justify these opinions and expectations, and that Japan and Russia will co-operate for the welfare of their people and the promotion of the peace of the world.

CHINA

In a previous chapter¹ we have noted some of the chief facts in the history of the early contact of China with the West up till the Treaty of Peking in 1860. Nothing of

¹ pp. 30-36.

special importance, from an international point of view, occurred in China, with the exception of a quarrel with France in 1885 (which only resulted in an agreement in which the parties resumed the *status quo ante bellum*), until the war with Japan in 1894, some of the results of which, in so far as Japan is concerned, have been mentioned in the preceding chapters, and they had great influence on the conditions in China.

As we have seen, the success of Japan in the war with China caused the Western Powers to recognise the fact that a new Power had arisen in the Far East, which would require to be reckoned with in the event of any international question becoming acute and demanding a solution, and the more important among them at once proceeded to take steps to strengthen their position. Russia was, of course, the Power most directly interested, and, as has already been stated, under the plea that the possession of the Liao-tung Peninsula by Japan "would be detrimental to the lasting peace of the Orient," she induced France and Germany to join her in putting pressure on Japan to restore it to China. The policy of these three Powers was dictated entirely by selfish motives, as was soon shown by their subsequent conduct. The result of their action was a great change in the situation in the Far East, and the preponderant influence previously held by Great Britain in China was superseded by that of Russia, France and Germany. At the same time the antagonism between Russia and Japan became more pronounced, and the relations between Great Britain and Japan began to grow closer and more friendly.

The struggle of the Great Powers in China for what were called "spheres of influence" is one of the many discreditable incidents in the behaviour of these Powers towards China. Partly by means of secret diplomacy with the high officials in China, and partly by open aggression carried out under some flimsy pretext, all the Great Powers received some addition to their possessions in China, which enabled

Struggle of the
Great Powers
for spheres of
influence.

them to increase their influence in many ways. Within four years after Japan had practically been expelled from the territories which were hers by conquest, Russia had for all purposes annexed the Liao-tung Peninsula, including the important fortress of Port Arthur. In 1895 France obtained from China the extension of her commercial concessions on the frontier of Cochin-China as well as certain adjustments of the boundary in that quarter. Germany was not long in finding a pretext for taking part in the game of grab. In November 1897 a Chinese mob attacked the German church at Yenchau in the province of Shantung, and murdered two missionaries, and this event gave the opportunity to Germany to disclose her naval and commercial ambitions in the Far East. "The mailed fist" of the German Emperor, in the form of a German squadron, entered Kiao-chau Bay, and occupied the place. Shortly afterwards, a convention was signed by the Chinese authorities and the Germans, formally sanctioning the occupation, by which it was agreed that the bay and its adjacent territories were leased to Germany for a term of ninety-nine years, with the right to construct fortifications, to establish a naval and coaling station, and to build a dockyard. She further obtained a concession of a preferential right to construct railways, and to exploit mines throughout the province of Shantung. Meantime, Russia was extending her operations in the manner already explained, and these resulted ultimately in the war with Japan. In April 1898 France secured a lease of Kwang-chau-wang, a bay on the south coast of China, for ninety-nine years as a naval station; the right to construct a railway connecting Tonquin with Yunnan-fu by the Red River; a pledge of the non-alienation of the three southern provinces; and the appointment of a French subject as the Director-General of the Chinese Post Office.

The diplomacy and action of Great Britain during all these proceedings was very weak, and did little to counteract the growing aggression of Russia. By advancing to China the money required to pay off the Japanese war indemnity

she secured in April 1898 a lease of Wei-hai-wei, which was then occupied by Japanese troops, as a guarantee, and she has since retained possession of it, although the place is of no use except as a healthy summer resort. To meet the supposed danger to Hong-Kong from the fortification of Kwang-chau Bay by France, Great Britain in June 1898 concluded an agreement with China for a lease for ninety-nine years of 400 square miles of territory in the peninsula of Kowloon (Kau-lung) immediately opposite Hong-Kong on the same terms as the French lease of Kwang-chau Bay. Great Britain was anxious to see the policy of "the open door" carried out in China, so that all the nations should have fair play, and in all the discussions which took place in Parliament on the subject, this was insisted upon, as well as the necessity of maintaining the integrity of the Chinese Empire. The matters were also much discussed in Japan, and an association was formed in April 1898 called the *Taigai-doshi-kwai* or Association of Foreign Policy, with a view to induce the Government to take measures to meet the new order of things. It was composed of prominent statesmen and other leading men in the country, and, when its representatives called upon Marquis Ito, the Premier "assured them that the Government would not neglect to promote the interests of the nation," and is said to have intimated "that the attitude of Great Britain was very favourable to Japan." Shortly afterwards, the Japanese Government, in order to forestall the lease or occupation of the province of Fokien opposite Formosa by a European Power, which would menace Japan's possession of Formosa and Pescadores Islands, demanded and obtained, just as Great Britain had in respect of the Yang-tsze Valley, from China a promise not to alienate the province.

In order not to be behind the other European Powers, in February 1899 Italy demanded from the Chinese Government the lease of Samsum Bay on the coast of Che-kiang as a coaling station and naval base, including the concession of three islands off the coast, with the right to construct a

railway from Sammum Bay to Poyang Lake within a sphere of influence comprising the southern two-thirds of Che-kiang province as necessary to the preservation of the balance of power in the Far East, and the British Minister supported the Italian demands; but the *Tsung-li-Yamen* would not listen to them; and the Italian Government, limiting its activity to commercial matters, obtained a mining concession in Northern Che-kiang in August 1899. Not content with the leases of territory which they had obtained on the Chinese coast, the Powers entered into a scramble for further concessions for the construction of railways, the working of mines, and the extension of foreign settlements. It is not necessary that we should enter into details of these, as many of them never got beyond the stage of paper agreements, and a little later on we shall note what has actually been accomplished. The chief Western Powers entered into agreements with each other, which practically divided the Chinese Empire into sections, which they were pleased to call "their spheres of interest," thus leaving it, only in name, a sovereign state. The newspaper press, not only in the Far East but also in Europe and America, wrote of the practical dissolution of China into dependencies of the European States. The conduct of European governments has been so unscrupulous, and that of the Chinese officials very often so untrustworthy, that it is very difficult to give in a short space an adequate account of actual conditions and of their effect on the minds of the Chinese people. Sir Robert Hart tries to do so, and he makes an intelligent Chinese speak as follows: "Whether it was that we granted you privileges or that you exacted concessions, you have treated the slightest mistakes as violations of treaty rights, and, instead of showing yourself friendly and considerate, you insult us by charges of bad faith, and demand reparation and indemnities. Your legalised opium has been a curse in every province it penetrated, and your refusal to limit or decrease the import has forced us to attempt a dangerous remedy; we have legalised native opium, not because we approve of it, but to compete with

and drive out the foreign drug, and it is expelling it, and, when we have only the native production to deal with, and thus have the business in our own hands, we hope to stop the habit in our own way. Your missionaries have everywhere been teaching good lessons, and benevolently opening hospitals and dispensing medicine for the relief of the sick and the afflicted, but wherever they go trouble goes with them ; and, instead of the welcome which good intentions merit, localities and officials turn against them ; when called upon to indemnify them for losses, we find to our astonishment that it is the exactions of would-be millionaires we have to satisfy ! Your people are everywhere extra-territorialised ; but, instead of a grateful return for this ill-advised stipulation, they appear to act as if there were no laws in China, and this encourages native lawlessness and makes constant difficulties for every native official. You have demanded and obtained the privilege of trading from port to port on the coast, and now you want the inland waters thrown open to your steamers. Your newspapers vilify our officials and Government, and, translated into Chinese, circulate very mischievous reading ; but yet they have their uses, for by their threats and suggestions they warn us what you may some day do, and so help us indirectly, although that does not conduce to mutual respect or liking. All these things weaken official authority—therefore the official world is against you ; and they hurt many native traders—therefore the trading classes are indignant. What countries give aliens the extra-territorial status ? What countries allow aliens to compete in their coasting trade ? What countries throw open their inland waters to other flags ? And yet all these things you compel us to grant you ; and why can you not treat us as you treat others ? Were you to do so you would find us friendly enough, and there would be an end of this everlasting bickering and these continually recurring wars ; really you are too short-sighted, and you are forcing us to arm in self-defence, and giving us grudges to pay off, instead of benefits to requite.”¹ When Westerners

¹ Hart, *These from the Land of Sinim*, p. 122.

criticise the Chinese they should try to put themselves in their places and consider what they would then think and do.

The aggressive actions of the Foreign Powers had, at last, the effect of rousing the dormant spirit of the Chinese, which burst out in a blind unreasoning manner ^{Boxer troubles,} and caused revolting cruelties which shocked the whole of the civilised world. Few people in the West, however, seemed inclined to trace the cause of these cruelties to its root.

The action of Germany in the Shantung province was the immediate cause of the outbreak of anti-foreign feelings on the part of the Chinese, although it was only one of a long series which sank deep into the hearts of every Chinese who understood all that was involved. Many of the people became desperate when they saw the indignities to which their country was subjected, and they were supported in their violence by the action of the Empress Dowager. In the spring of 1900, a secret society, known as the Boxers, first appeared in the Shantung and Chihli provinces and marched thence toward Tientsin and Peking with overwhelming force, destroying and burning churches, stations, and railways. We need not go into details of what followed, as the main circumstances will be recalled. The Foreign Legations at Peking were besieged by the enraged crowds, and an international relief expedition 2000 strong, consisting of the marines of Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Japan, Italy, the United States and Russia, under the command of Admiral Seymour, was unable even to reach Tientsin. At this juncture, as considerable time would elapse before the relief from India or Europe could arrive, Lord Salisbury made an earnest appeal, on June 25, to the Powers concerned in Chinese affairs to approve the immediate despatch of a Japanese force of 20,000 to 30,000 men. Japan agreed to send 13,000 men, and mobilised 2,500 in addition to those already despatched; but, fearing lest complications might arise among the Powers themselves, she hesitated to do more. The British Government became impatient and urged Japan

to complete the expedition, Lord Salisbury declaring:—"Japan is the only Power which can act with any hope of success for the urgent purpose of saving the Legations, and, if they delay, heavy responsibility must rest with them. We are prepared to furnish any financial assistance which is necessary, in addition to our forces already on the spot." Still jealousy between the Powers caused considerable delay and it was not until 6th August that all their forces joined and agreed to act together, and set out from Tientsin. After numerous skirmishes and battles, the allied forces entered Peking and the Legations were relieved on 15th August. The Emperor and Empress Dowager fled to Taiyuan, the capital of Shanshi; the Boxers were scattered and the palaces and main buildings in Peking were occupied by the international forces. In the joint expedition the Japanese soldiers won marked distinction by their excellent behaviour and ability. Lord Salisbury instructed the British Minister at Tokyo to express to the Government his earnest admiration of their "gallantry and efficiency," which had, as he declared, "contributed to the success of the expedition so very largely." It has been truly said that, "when all alike were tried in the same fire, the peoples of Europe learned to their humiliation that the largest measure of restraint was exercised, not by the white men, but by the soldiers of an Oriental Power." An indemnity of 450,000,000 taels was exacted from China, of which Russia received 130 millions, Germany 90, France 70, Great Britain 50, Japan 34, the United States 32 and so on, the amounts being supposed to be based on actual cost and damage incurred. They were, however, all far beyond that, and those of the European Continental Powers exorbitantly so, thus affording China another taste of the blessings of Western civilisation. The Boxer troubles were only an act in the great drama which was being played in China, which ultimately led to the war between Japan and Russia, with all its far-reaching consequences.

Even a very imperfect sketch of the educational influences at work in China would be very incomplete without the

mention of the work carried on by the Christian missionaries of various countries and denominations. Many of them have rendered effective service in the diffusion of secular knowledge by the translation of Western books and by the teaching and practice of medicine. They have also taken a leading part in the evolution of modern journalism in China, and this is now becoming a power in the education of public opinion, by its criticism of the abuses which are common in every department of the administration of the country.

Missionary
influence.

We cannot enter into details of the purely religious work of the missionaries. It has only had very moderate success and even that, for the most part, among the lowest and least educated classes of the community, so that many of the professions of Christianity are of very doubtful value. Disturbances and so-called persecutions have frequently arisen, brought on not infrequently by the want of tact on the part of some of the missionaries and the ignorance and mistaken patriotism of the people, who got the impression that the missionaries were in league with the representatives of the Foreign Powers with the object of interfering with the politics of the country, and restricting its freedom as a Sovereign Power. China's constant friction and frequent collisions with France spring chiefly from two sources: (1) the French protectorate over the Roman Catholic missions, and (2) the menacing attitude of France in Indo-China. It was to avenge the judicial murder of a missionary that Louis Napoleon sent troops to China in 1857-60. From this date the long-persecuted Church assumed an imperious tone. The restitution of confiscated property was a source of endless trouble; and the certainty of being backed up by Church and State emboldened native converts not only to insist on their own rights, but to mix in disputes with which they had no necessary connection—a practice which more than anything else has tended to bring the Holy Faith into disrepute among the Chinese people.¹

¹ Cf. Martin, *The Awakening of China*, p. 261.

On the general question of the attitude of China to foreign religions, Dr. Martin says: "Unlike Mohammedan or Brahman, the Chinese are not strongly attached to any form of religious faith. They take no umbrage at the offer of a new creed, particularly if it have the advantage of being akin to that of their ancient sages. What they object to is not the creed but the foreigner who brings it. Their newspapers are, in fact, beginning to agitate the question of accepting the Christian faith and propagating it in their own way, without aid from the foreigner. That they would be glad to see merchant and missionary leave them in peace, no one can doubt. Yet the influence of missions is steadily on the increase; and their influence for good is acknowledged by the leading minds of the Empire." In a recent letter addressed to a missionary meeting, Sir Ernest Satow, late British Minister in Peking, emphasised the importance of missionaries taking note of the fact that China was proud of a civilisation older than our own, and of a code of morals of which the central principle was reverence for the solidarity of the family and devotion to the memory of ancestors. Missionaries, he said, should refrain from ignoring or despising what was good in the teaching that the Chinese people had received by a tradition lasting at least 2500 years. It should also be remembered that, whereas Protestant missions in China were scarcely a century old, the Roman Catholics had been working three times as long. They owed a great deal to Roman Catholicism, and they should try to live with them on friendly terms. Lastly, Sir Ernest advised the missionaries to abstain from assuming to protect their converts in their disputes with non-Christian Chinese, or against the action of the mandarins. Abstention was the wisest course. If this advice had been acted upon in the past and if the representatives of Western Powers had shown more consideration for the national interests of China and less selfish greed, there would have been very few, if any, outbursts of popular feeling against foreigners, and no persecution of Christian missionaries and their converts.

The action of the Japanese Government with regard to missionaries and missionary work is such as might be followed with advantage by the Chinese Government.

It ought to be much more distinctly recognised than it is that Christian missionary work in China or in any of the other countries which are usually called heathen, and especially in those which have a civilisation of their own, will never make any real progress among the educated classes until there is a more common agreement as to what Christianity is, and it is taught in harmony with the fundamental characteristics of the people. The varieties of Christianity which are at present presented to the peoples of the East must be most confusing. Their propagators make the mistake of supposing that a theology which has grown up under Western influences is either suitable or acceptable to Eastern minds. The conduct of the people of the West, both individually and nationally, towards Eastern people is another reason why Christianity is not more freely accepted. In very few cases are the lives of Westerners who live in the East, disciplined, refined, or religious. For the most part they are self-centred and devoted to the making of money, or to what goes by the name of enjoyment. The sketch, which we have given of the political relations of the East and the West, shows that these are not calculated to inspire a regard for the religion which is supposed to be the foundation of Western civilisation. When that civilisation is studied in detail, with all its ever-widening extremes of poverty and wealth, its social problems and its immense armaments which are sucking the life-blood of the people, and they compare it with their own, they come to the conclusion that the latter is to be preferred. Those countries which have made a beginning in Western civilisation do not find it an altogether unmixed blessing, while thoughtful Westerners who have resided in the East not infrequently come to the conclusion that there is more need to preach to the "circumcised" than to the so-called heathen, who in many respects are as industrious, law-

abiding, and moral as are the people in any country in the world.

For a considerable time after the Japanese had opened their country for the purposes of foreign trade and had adopted Western methods of education and administration, the Chinese looked upon them with contempt for what they believed to be their subserviency to foreigners, but in recent years a great change has taken place in their attitude in this matter. The results of the war with Japan in 1894-95 opened their eyes to the superiority of Western appliances and methods, and especially of those connected with war, and for some time it was thought that a sudden revolution would take place in the attitude of the Chinese mind with regard to Western civilisation, but, although several ambitious schemes of reform were put forward, little came of them.

Influence of
Japan.

The peoples of the West must disabuse themselves of the idea that the Chinese are a stupid race. Their physical and their intellectual powers are great, and they only require to be properly directed to enable them to accomplish great things. Their apparent slowness arises from a careful weighing of advantages and disadvantages, and they may well be excused if they have erred on the side of caution and in an undue respect for vested interests, as their contact with the peoples of the West did not promise an improvement in their conditions. On the whole, however, they have a philosophy of life which has saved them from many of the problems which confront Western civilisation. Their outlook on life may be very narrow, but they try to live in the fullest sense in which they have realised life, and not simply struggle for the means of existence, as is too frequently the case in the countries of the West.

The striking object lesson of the war between Japan and Russia awakened the Chinese to the necessity of bringing their country somewhat into line with Western nations, and during the past few years great developments have taken place. Not only is considerable attention being paid to

Western education in China, but large numbers of students are being sent to Japan, America, and Europe, in search of Western knowledge. There are various reasons why Japan has become the favourite country for Chinese students. The simplicity of the Japanese language to the Chinese—as compared with the European languages, in itself provides sufficient explanation. An intelligent Chinese has no difficulty in reading Japanese after three months' study, and men who are too old to begin scientific studies find it to their great advantage to enter such faculties as law, political economy, philosophy, and education. The brilliancy of wealth and power that is displayed in the West dazzles the Chinese students and makes them lose their heads, but in Japan they do not run this risk and they have time to collect their thoughts. Again, living in Tokyo is four times cheaper than in any European or American country, and, but for this cheapness, thousands of Chinese students would never have been able to leave their native land. Most important of all, however, is the community of thought on many points of individual and national life which enables the Japanese and the Chinese to understand each other in a way which cannot be appreciated by foreigners. The majority of the Chinese students in Japan are "private" students—so-called in contradistinction to those sent at public expense, and therefore they are for the most part poor and hard-working. Being tolerably well educated, they are capable of comparing what they see and learn abroad with conditions in China, and of forming independent opinions. They are imbibing the real spirit of Western civilisation without losing the best elements of their national character. Whilst Occidental science makes them masters of nature, their Oriental training enables them to retain their mastership over themselves. The richer and better educated among the Chinese students are proceeding to Europe and America in considerable numbers, and are proving themselves very earnest and apt in their work, and when they return to China their influence is certain to be great. In

fact there are already among the Chinese considerable numbers who have had a fairly good Western education, and they are making themselves felt in many ways.

Within the past year there has been a great decrease in the number of Chinese students in Japan. For this there are several reasons which we need not discuss in detail, but the most evident one was the unsatisfactory results on the conduct of some of the students. Many of them were said to be learning modern methods of material advancement at the expense of ethical and national ideals ; to have spent their time in riotous living, and to have returned to their sponsors impregnated with extreme revolutionary ideas and deranged with anarchical notions. These results were not, of course, wholly the fault of Japanese education, but of the peculiar environment which these young men, free for the first time from the restraints of home, made and maintained for themselves at the Japanese capital. There they formed a colony that for morals and manners became a law unto itself and a byword to the surrounding community. Not infrequently their conduct was such as to draw upon them the censure of the educational and municipal authorities, and to require the interference of the Chinese Ambassador. Both the Chinese and Japanese authorities have taken steps and made regulations which tend to reduce the number of students, and in future the numbers are likely to be much smaller than they have been.

A considerable number of Japanese have been engaged to fill responsible positions in China in educational institutions, industrial concerns, in the army and the national administration, and they have in many ways been able to extend the operations which were being carried on by a small number of Europeans and Americans who have from time to time been engaged for special purposes. On the subject of the influence of Japan in China, the opinion of Dr. Martin, formerly President of the Chinese Imperial University, a very competent witness, who is not likely to be biassed in favour of Japan, may be quoted. Writing of

the war between Japan and Russia, he says: "Though the attitude of China had been as unheroic as would have been Menelaus's had the latter declared neutrality in the Trojan war, the issue has done much to rouse the spirit of the Chinese people. Other wars made them feel their weakness; this one begot belief in their latent strength. When they witnessed a series of victories on land and sea gained by the Japanese over one of the most formidable powers of the West, they exclaimed, 'If our neighbour can do this, why may we not do the same? We certainly can if, like them, we break with the effete systems of the past. Let us take these island heroes for our schoolmasters.'"

He goes on to say: "That war was one of the most momentous in the annals of history. It unsettled the balance of power, and opened a vista of untold possibilities for the yellow race. Not slow to act on their new convictions, the Chinese have sent a small army of ten thousand students to Japan, of whom over eight thousand are there now, while they have imported from the island a host of instructors whose numbers can only be conjectured. The earliest to come were in the military spheres, to rehabilitate army and navy. Then came professors of every sort, engaged by public or private institutions to help on educational reform. Even in agriculture, in which they have hitherto prided themselves, the Chinese have put themselves under the teaching of the Japanese, while with good reason they have taken them as teachers in forestry also. Crowds of Japanese artificers in every handicraft find ready employment in China. Nor will it be long before pupils and apprentices in these home schools will assume the rôle of teacher, while Chinese graduates returning from Japan will be welcomed as professors of a higher grade. The Japanning process, as it is derisively styled, may be somewhat superficial; but it has the recommendation of cheapness and rapidity in comparison with depending on teachers from the West. It has, moreover, the immense advantage of racial kinship and example. Of course the few students

who go to the fountain-heads of science—in the West—must when they return home take rank as China's leading teachers.

“All this inclines one to conclude that a rapid transformation in this ancient empire is to be counted on. The Chinese will soon do for themselves what they are now getting the Japanese to do for them. Japanese ideas will be permanent; but the direct agency of the Japanese people will certainly become less conspicuous than it is now. To the honour of the Japanese Government the world is bound to acknowledge that the island nation has not abused its victories to wring concessions from China. In fact, to the eye of an unprejudiced observer it appears that in unreservedly restoring Manchuria, Japan has allowed an interested neutral to reap a disproportionate share of the profits.”¹ It is evident that Japan is now repaying to China at least part of the debt she owes for her earlier civilisation. It is to be hoped that both countries will be able to solve in a rational manner the numerous and difficult problems which follow industrial and commercial development, and which are still the puzzle of Western nations.

In some respects there has been a certain amount of reaction in China against Japanese education, some of which was probably caused by resentment felt for political reasons, and the recent extensive dismissal of Japanese teachers from Chinese schools must be regarded as significant, and the same principle is being carried out in the naval and military colleges in China. These tendencies have led some educationists of Japan to suggest the advisability of founding and endowing a fully equipped and representative Japanese university in Peking or some other intellectual centre. The proposed university in Hongkong and the medical colleges which are being suggested by British educationists and philanthropists are indications of the fact, that not only in Japan but also in Europe and America the Chinese are a people much more impressed

¹ Martin, *The Awakening of China*, pp. 193-95.

and influenced by proficiency in the arts of peace and progress than by any process of war or diplomacy.

Recently, in the Japanese Diet, Count Komura, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a speech on the foreign policy of Japan, said that in view of their important and close relations it was evident that the two nations should draw tighter the ties of friendship and mutual consideration. He intimated that long pending questions had recently been adjusted satisfactorily, but others were not impossible of adjustment if treated in a spirit of conciliation. Japan was watching with sympathy and interest the progress of reforms in China, and hoped that China would preserve domestic order.

Many questions arose out of the Portsmouth Peace Treaty, which caused irritation to China. She had been excluded from any share in the negotiations leading to that treaty, and she soon made it clear that she would not accept, as sufficient, a rigorous literal interpretation of its provisions, and many questions arose in connection with Manchuria which pressed for adjustment, such as railway extension, postal and telegraph facilities, and the arrangements for the mining, fishing, and salt industries. These are, however, all in the way of friendly adjustment, and the causes of friction between the Governments of the two countries are being removed. Their full discussion would take us into details, which are beyond the limits of our present space. If a friendly spirit prevails on both sides, the settlement of the points at issue should be easy. The highest Japanese authorities have shown the sincerest desire for a reasonable settlement, but at the same time they expect the Chinese to remember that without the intervention of Japanese arms Manchuria would have been altogether and irretrievably lost to them. The Tokyo correspondent of the *Times* recently wrote: "Nothing seems to me more hopeful for the usefulness and permanency of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance than the anxiety which I have found here to remove all misconceptions concerning the moderation and loyalty

of Japanese policy. Never during previous visits have I received more abundant proof of the value attached to British friendship, and of the universal belief of maintaining the alliance between the two countries. I received the highest possible confirmation of these sentiments in an audience which his Majesty the Emperor graciously accorded yesterday to me and my Peking colleague."

It will probably be through her trade relations with China that Japan will exercise the greatest influence. The following table shows the value of Japan's trade with China for the years 1905-6-7, according to the returns of the Chinese Imperial Customs:—

	Total trade. H. Tls.	Exports to China. H. Tls.	Imports from China. H. Tls.	Tonnage.
1905 . .	96,780,211	61,315,248	35,464,963	6,238,918
1906 . .	94,357,287	61,052,356	33,304,931	11,376,430
1907 . .	96,808,886	57,461,410	39,347,476	15,598,213

Though Japan's exports to China during 1907 showed a total decrease, exports as a whole showed steady development, and the particular diminution, whilst being partly due to depreciation of silver, was, generally speaking, confined to certain of her most important commodities. In 1905 exports increased by more than eleven million taels over those of the previous year, and we can understand how, with the conclusion of war and the sudden leap in exports, traders of other nationalities began to grow nervous about Japan's commercial future in the Far East. Probably their fear was exaggerated, as there are many articles of commerce required for China's newer needs which can best be supplied by Japan, and which do not compete directly with the imports from other countries. Some, however, do, as is shown by the following list and value of articles exported from Japan to China in the years 1905 and 1907:—

	1905. H. Tls.	1907. H. Tls.
Machinery and fittings	159,717	456,094
Electrical materials	10,488	120,907
Hardware	56,166	182,729
Household stores	481,999	645,716
Furniture	173,896	298,550
Building materials	15,608	149,342
Cement	40,024	101,336
Carriages, bicycles, etc. . . .	30,255	113,438
Lamps and lamp ware	119,543	197,188
Clothing (not including hats, boots and shoes)	271,567	527,601

The list shows that Japan is throwing herself vigorously into the task of competing with other nations in all directions, and that so far, at any rate, she is doing this successfully. No less striking indications are to be found in certain developments which are taking place in China, and whilst nobody as yet cares to prophesy as to the precise future of Manchuria, both expert and general opinion in the East believe in great developments. The manner in which commodities were rushed up north after the war, besides being one of the causes of trade depression in Shanghai to-day, is an indication of what is likely to take place when Manchuria is ready to receive what the commercial world is ready to send her; and, since Japan is by far the largest importer of beans and beancake, valued in 1907 at over eleven million taels, her markets in the north cannot fail to be enormously extended.

The future progress of Japanese trade in China will depend on various conditions, economic, personal, and national. Wages and prices are rapidly rising in Japan, and its economic advantage is diminishing. Personality plays a very important part in successful trading in China, and it is stated that, at present, the Chinese entertain considerable dislike for the Japanese. A Chinaman is peculiarly a person with whom you either "get on," or you do not "get on." If you succeed with him he is the best of good fellows, and you get what you want, but if you do not he

is a very difficult person to deal with. The Chinese are not yet fully reconciled to the superior position which Japan has gained in recent years, for in the old days they were accustomed to look upon Japan and the Japanese as inferior in every way to China and the Chinese. No doubt some of the Japanese who have gone to China for the purpose of pushing their fortunes have lost a good deal of their native politeness, and have offended those with whom they traded, and even the action of the Japanese Government has, occasionally, had the appearance of being high-handed, and has caused resentment on the part of the Chinese, and led to the boycott of Japanese goods.

The Japanese ought to remember the jealousy with which they guarded their own independence and freedom of action, and to recognise that the great success which has attended their efforts is due, in great part, to the fact that the impetus which caused their developments came chiefly from within. No doubt the Foreign Powers would render effective service to China, if they would help her to help herself and enable her to mould her institutions to meet the requirements of modern conditions. The vernacular press of China is now beginning to discuss international affairs, in so far as they affect China, in a very intelligent manner. The following from the editorial columns of a native journal published in Shanghai, and printed partly in English, expresses very clearly what every intelligent Chinaman thinks on these subjects:—"The publication of the text of the Franco-Japanese Agreement has naturally created a stir in the Chinese world, but the effect produced, if the pronouncements of the Chinese press are any indication, is quite the reverse of that on foreigners, as expressed by the tone of the British press. Our newspapers can see nothing in the Agreement to congratulate China upon, and cannot say with any show of unction that the integrity of our country is more strongly assured by the consummation of the *entente*, or that the peace of the Far East is rendered more secure.

"Nearly all the papers realise the importance of the

Agreement in its effect on China, though that such an Agreement could be effected at all, came somewhat as a surprise to them. The traditional and innate contempt of the white race for the yellow race would seem to be an insurmountable obstacle to bring about any understanding ; and the world is treated to the spectacle of, firstly, an Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and, now, a Franco-Japanese Agreement—an agreement which further receives the moral support of Great Britain and Russia. By the conclusion of the Agreement two nations, if we exclude the contracting parties, are directly or indirectly affected by it, namely, Germany and China. The former is made to feel her isolated condition, while the interests of the latter are placed in greater jeopardy than before.

“What strikes the Chinese press as somewhat meaningless, is the eternal reiteration on the part of certain Powers of their intention to respect the independence and integrity of China. As one of the papers declared, such a statement can only tickle the ears of our effete and blind Government, but it has not a sufficient ring of sincerity in it to deceive the people. By the terms of the Agreement, the influence of France and Japan in the Chinese Empire is greatly strengthened. Whatever has been leased from the Chinese Government is now invested with almost the rights of occupation, and whatever has not been leased, but borders on leased territory, is in danger of being enclosed with the same.

“After the Chino-Japanese War the Japanese sphere of influence in China was confined to the province of Fuhkien, and now we are informed that on account of Japan's interests in the Liao-tung Peninsula both Chihli and Shantung have been included. The sphere of influence of France is also greatly extended by the terms of this Agreement. At first it was only her vague ambition that the provinces of Yunnan, Kuantung, and Kuangsi should be her share in the despoiling of China, but in the past few years we have seen the gradual growth of her ambition, till now the provinces

are to become, in reality, the reward of her many years of scheming. It is to be noted that the tactics of France and Japan in their undermining of China's integrity and independence have been almost identical. The former first detached Annam from China's suzerainty, then seized the region itself, and gradually encroaching on the borders of Yunnan and the two Kwangs, till she is now stretching her arms even into the interior of those provinces; while with Japan, Korea was her first object, from which she directed her attention to Manchuria, and now Chihli and Shantung are to be enclosed within her grasp.

"The Anglo-Japanese Agreement was claimed to be concluded to preserve the peace of the Far East, but the devastated condition of Manchuria bears eloquent witness to the validity or otherwise of the claim. Let us hope and pray that the Franco-Japanese Agreement, which starts out with language of similar strain, may not end as disastrously to our Empire."

The last sentence does not do justice either to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance or to the efforts of the Japanese. The former restricted the conflict to a comparatively small area and to the two combatants who started it, and but for the latter both Korea and China would have fallen under the domination of Russia, a state of affairs which would not only have endangered the national existence of Japan, but have been a continual danger to the peace of the Far East. At the same time the quotation we have given contains some facts and opinions which Japan ought to take very seriously to heart. Those who are responsible for her foreign policy must recognise that the immense population of China is waking up to a new consciousness. The national pride has been irritated by the events connected with their relations with the West, and the people are penetrated with a sullen suspicion, not only of their own organisation, which clearly has failed them as against the external world, but of all white men, whom they now regard as persons engaged in schemes for exploiting and plunder-

ing the sacred land. That suspicion is likely to be deepened if China finds herself ringed in by a series of treaties, which will enable Europe, with the addition of Japan, to press advice on her with irresistible force. Inspired, no doubt, by the example of Japan, China does not wish to be pressed upon, and her destinies controlled by alien Powers, however good intentioned they may be, but to become as independent as Japan and the great states of Europe are. It is evident that the diplomacy between the East and West must in future be conducted not only with greater knowledge of neutral conditions, but also in a more sympathetic spirit to the peoples concerned than it has been in the past.

It is beyond our present plan to enter into details of recent developments in China, but, as bearing on the general evolution which is taking place in the Far East, a few remarks may be made on some of the most important points.

Recent develop-
ments in China.

Following the example of Japan, a High Commission was sent from China in 1905 to study the institutions of the countries of the West and to report on the adoption of such as were deemed suitable for China, and it is very significant that their first recommendation dealt with constitutional government. They stated that they had carefully studied the systems of Great Britain, the United States, Japan and other countries, and they earnestly requested the Throne to issue a decree fixing on five years as the limit within which China will adopt a constitutional form of government. As a consequence of this recommendation and of the pressure of external forces of various kinds, it is stated that the Chinese Government has resolved to carry out the following reforms within seven years: (1) To institute a parliament; (2) to organise the navy; (3) to recover all mining concessions; (4) to pay off all foreign loans; (5) to reorganise the bureaucracy; (6) to get rid of opium; (7) to prepare a national budget. This is a very ambitious plan, and it will probably not all be carried out

in the time specified, but its publication is a very significant sign of the times, and no doubt it will arouse the dormant energies of an intellectual race who possess great potentialities in every department of national life.

The Chinese are not being content with sending students to foreign countries, they are reorganising their own educational institutions and instituting others on Western models. Special attention is being paid to those designed for technical instruction, but the most thoughtful among the reformers wish to go beyond this, and declare that the people without education will not be fit for a parliamentary government. Some prominent officials are specially employing their time and influence in establishing schools for girls—convinced that there cannot be light in the household so long as the mothers are left in darkness.

Recently a Japanese educational authority, who had resided in China for some time, reported that during the past two or three years that there had been a reaction as regards educational arrangements, and this he explained by the following causes: (1) The enthusiasm for education which followed the suppression of the Boxer disturbances was the result of the fashion of the hour, and had its origin in pressure brought to bear from without rather than from deep-seated convictions on the part of the mass of the inhabitants. The transition from the old state of things to a new era which it was sought to effect was too sudden. Reaction was bound to follow. The change of sentiment has revealed itself in the great decline in the number of students going abroad, to which repeated attention has been drawn in the daily press during the past few months. It must be borne in mind that for many centuries the object of study in China was always Government employ or honour. A man who had a degree, even though disconnected with the Government, was always a great man in his native town or village. Learning was valued, then, not for its own sake, but for what it secured in social life. But the abolition (in 1906) of the system of promotion, according to literary

degrees, deprived students of the old way of thinking of the main objects of study—Government employ or special social distinction. Men of the new school study from other motives, but they still constitute a very small band. So the immediate effect of the reform of 1906 was to discourage study, though its ultimate results will doubtless be of an opposite kind. (2) Another great source of the present educational stagnation in China is the indifference shown to elementary education. The primary schools of China are still in a lamentably backward condition. Now, in all progressive countries elementary teaching is the foundation of all after-instruction, but in China the lower schools are despised and left to themselves, and, as a consequence, among the masses of the people the standard of general knowledge is far beneath what it is in this country. (3) Another cause of the slow progress of education in China is the great expense which it involves. Almost all the schools of China are boarding schools, and the charges at these establishments are far too high to suit the purses of ordinary Chinese parents. The consequence is that in numerous instances pupils have to be removed from schools, before they have half finished the course, for purely financial reasons. The cost of keeping a lad at a primary school runs to some 60 dollars a year, and the cost at middle schools is in many cases as high as 90. Considering how poor most of the Chinese are, it is evident that the scale of school fees ought to be reduced by some means or other. There is no way of improving the state of education in China except by a thorough reorganisation of the primary school system, and so far there are no signs that such a measure is contemplated in any of the provinces.

Probably the most potent influence in the awakening of China will be the development of railways, which is proceeding at a rapid rate. For a considerable time the Chinese looked upon railways as an instrument of foreign aggression, but they are now being recognised as the best auxiliaries for national defence and the development of the national

resources. Reference may be made to a book by Mr. Percy Horace Kent¹ for an account of the origin and development of railway enterprise in China. As to the general policy to be followed, it would not be strange if the nationalisation of railways in Japan led to a similar movement in China, for there is a growing feeling, engendered by the observation of conditions in America and Europe, that the possession of the railways by capitalists, be they native or foreign, is a danger to the State and to the welfare of the people.

In a recent article in the *Times*² its Shanghai correspondent gave some interesting information on the present position of the railway question in China, from which a few extracts may be given which show the change that is coming over the minds of the Chinese in matters in which foreigners are directly concerned. After sketching the chief developments which have taken place in railway construction, the writer said: "From 1903 to 1905 was a period of political unrest in the Far East, days of tension that culminated in the struggle between Russia and Japan, and thereafter in a remarkable development of the nationalist movement in China and of the activities of the 'sovereign rights recovery' party. Awaiting the issue of the Titanic struggle on her borders, China marked time during these two years, evolving new theories as to her place in the comity of nations and a new conception of her foreign relations, the inspirations of her rulers being directly traceable to the vernacular Press. In railway matters nothing was done during this period beyond desultory and abortive negotiations of the usual type. But with the defeat of Russia and the consequent removal of all immediate pressure and danger of further aggression by any Foreign Power, the Chinese Government (loudly encouraged thereto by Young China) initiated and has since steadily maintained a new policy in railway construction, insisting that undivided control of all new enterprises shall be vested in Chinese hands,

¹ *Railway Enterprise in China*, published by Edward Arnold, London, 1907.

² August 18, 1908.

and that no part of their profits shall be alienated. In other words, while not unwilling to borrow capital abroad for her railways, China is not prepared, in her present frame of mind, to enter into any further agreements whereby the foreign capitalist shall be placed in any position of privilege or profit in connection with the undertakings thus financed. The railway agreements made since 1906 represent, therefore, a series of compromises negotiated between the Chinese Government and the holders of its unfulfilled concessions, wherein may be plainly traced, on the one hand, the Chauvinistic public opinion of the provinces, clamorous with all the energy and ignorance of youth, and, on the other, the unwillingness of the Central Government completely to repudiate, in the face of diplomatic remonstrances, its binding agreements. Under these conditions have been concluded, since the beginning of 1907, the contracts for the financing and construction of three railways—the third category—viz. the lines from Canton to Kau-lung, from Tien-tsin to the Yang-tsze, and from Shanghai, *via* Hang-chau, to Ning-po. Of these the first was signed in March 1907, the second in January of this year, and the third in March, and the results of the ‘sovereign rights’ agitation are clearly reflected in the differences between them. For whereas, in the Canton-Kau-lung agreement, the railway is mortgaged, as in all previous cases, as security for the loan, and a certain measure of responsibility and authority conferred on the British engineer-in-chief and the accountant, as representing the interests of the bondholders, these conditions, hitherto insisted upon as essential for the conclusion of any loan agreement in China, are absent from the later contracts, by the terms of which the European experts become simply *employés* of the Chinese railway administration. These agreements represent, in fact, the introduction of a system—necessarily experimental—in which all concerned assume the Chinese Government’s ability and intention to administer foreign capital to the advantage and credit of its own finances and industries, and, therefore,

without danger to the foreign investor in Chinese bonds. In regard to these agreements, it should be added that the Chinese Government has fully recognised its obligations under the original concessions of 1898, in so far as they related to profit-sharing rights, and has either compromised or repurchased those rights."

The Chinese are quite capable of doing what the Japanese have done with so much success in the way of railway construction, that is, calling in the assistance of foreign engineers and other experts until they have trained men of their own who are able to undertake the duties with something like efficiency, but retaining in their own hands full control. Their experience with such men as Sir Robert Hart in the Customs and Mr. C. W. Kinder in the Railways should, however, be sufficient to show them that even in their own interests it will be desirable to obtain the assistance of experienced and trustworthy foreigners in the more important developments which are taking place. One very significant feature in these is the greater control by the Central Government over the doings of the Provincial Governments, it being felt that it is not to the interest of the Central Government that it should incur heavy liabilities abroad for enterprises which, under the irresponsible management of provincial bureaus, will be unremunerative at best, and at worst will be disastrous failures. The fact is, indeed, already recognised to the extent that the Imperial Government disavows, in advance, any foreign loans contracted by the Provincial Governments without sanction from Peking, and that this sanction, when applied for, is invariably refused.

The Chinese are determined not only to construct their own railways, but also to manufacture all the materials required, and, when the Peking-Hankow Railway was building in 1898 the iron and steel works, which have been established for some years at Hanyang near Hankow, were able to supply all the rails required for the entire line. That establishment within the past year or two has been very much

extended and brought up to date with the most approved appliances and methods, and will supply structural steel materials, plates, bars, and rails, in short, practically all the varieties of iron and steel which have hitherto been imported into China. The works are provided with testing machines and chemical laboratories in charge of qualified men, and all steel materials, whether inspected or not, undergo a thorough mechanical and chemical test. It is stated that the Chinese workmen are satisfactory and afford plenty of cheap labour. Skilled Chinese mechanics and millmen receive from 5 to 40 dollars (United States currency) per month, the average wage being about 30 cents per day. Coolies and common labourers are paid about 10 cents per day.

The development of the mercantile marine, of the telegraph and the postal systems, has been the natural accompaniment of railway construction in China. The China Merchants Steam Navigation Company, as well as a number of private owners, are now able to compete successfully for a share in the coasting trade, but as yet they have no line trading to foreign ports. Telegraphs are now freely used by officials and merchants in all the more important centres in China, and a modernised postal system is taking the place of the antiquated system which has existed for so long. The manner in which the change is being appreciated is shown by the rapidly increasing revenue from stamps. All these developments are having important results on the commerce and industry of the country and are bringing about many social reforms. These are helped by the Chinese press, which within recent years has made considerable progress and does not hesitate to criticise the Government, and indicate to the people the general backwardness of the country. No doubt its influence and extent will rapidly increase as the students return from foreign countries, for many of them are certain to take to journalism. Some of their sayings may be crude and their proposals impracticable, but, nevertheless, they will make a continuance of many of the existing conditions impossible.

The developments which take place in the means of offence and defence in China are probably those which will most affect her international relations, for the Chinese must, by this time, have learned the lesson which Japan learned in a very early period of her contact with foreign nations, namely, that she will be respected by these only when she has shown that she is strong and able to resist any attempt on her national dignity or honour. Indeed, they saw this, in a dim sort of way, a good many years ago, and many of the Western methods adopted were for the purposes of defence. Arsenals and other similar establishments were started, and a beginning was made in the formation of a navy. As late as 1863 the Chinese Government did not possess a single fighting-ship propelled by steam. Steamers belonging to Chinese merchants were sometimes employed to chase pirates; but they were not the property of the State. A flotilla of gun-boats was purchased in England for the Central Government by Mr. Lay, Inspector-General of Customs (Sir Robert Hart's predecessor), but difficulties arose and the Government dismissed the Inspector and sold the ships. During the next thirty years a considerable naval force was raised, but in 1895 it was either destroyed or captured by the Japanese. At present each viceroy has a small squadron; but all combined would scarcely form the nucleus of a navy. A Naval Board has been instituted, and proposals have been made for the formation of a strong national navy, but, as yet, nothing has been done in this direction.

On the other hand considerable progress has been made in the formation of an army. The Chinese are not by any means cowards, although they have a contempt for war. Lord Wolseley is reported to have said that if he were given a free hand in China for a few years he could form an army which could face any troops in the world. They are now recognising that with their antiquated arms and methods they are no match for Western soldiers, and are forming an army on modern lines as quickly as their means will allow. Up to within the last few years both the naval and military

forces of China were wholly provincial in their character. Raised, equipped, and maintained out of local funds, they were commanded by officers in the respective provinces, and controlled almost entirely by the provincial viceroy. Since 1900 a War Ministry has been created in Peking, with nominal control over the new National Army, which is divided into three classes: (1) The regiments, newly formed from old troops or newly raised; (2) Old troops, in some cases reorganised in the new National Army; (3) A kind of police or constabulary and bodyguards. As yet the amount of control exercised by the Chinese War Office over the units of the new army is small. Each province provides the money for the payment and equipment of the divisions within their borders, and so far there does not seem to be any intention of stationing troops outside their own provinces (except in Manchuria, where a division and two mixed brigades have lately been sent from Chihli), and much of the control, as well as the patronage, still remains in the hands of the Viceroys, and it is not improbable that any attempt even at reasonable centralisation will be stoutly resisted in a country like China, where local autonomy in Government is carried to an extreme limit. This want of national unity will prevent China from becoming a great military power. Any attempt at aggression on the part of the Western Powers would be the most effective means of welding the separate units into a great national army. The present programme of the Chinese Government aims at the creation of two divisions in each of the eighteen Provinces, that is, thirty-six divisions of about 12,000 men each, with a full proportion of cavalry, artillery and other branches of the service, and giving a standing peace army of 432,000 men with a war strength of 1,500,000. It will, however, take a considerable time before this number is reached, even supposing all local jealousies and difficulties be removed. The Government has established several colleges for the training of staff officers, in which are employed many Japanese and a few European instructors; but it ought to be noted that the Chinese

authorities will not permit any foreign officer to exercise any executive command (except for staff work) of any unit. For many centuries past soldiers have been regarded in the Chinese mind as of the most degraded members of society and at the very bottom of the social scale, but with the growth of a desire for national strength, the profession of soldier is gradually rising in public estimation. This is one of the doubtful blessings of Western civilisation, and, if it leads to the militarism of Europe, China would have been better without it.

A very important movement is the spread of Chinese population in Tibet, Mongolia, and Manchuria. As a means of strengthening her national position in these dependencies, China is sending to them enormous numbers of emigrants in so far as is permitted by the conditions of climate and soil. To send coolies and peasants in as large numbers as it desires to these countries, thinly peopled by native tribes, costs the Peking Government only the small labour of edicts to the governors of provinces suitable for such emigration and small financial aid in special cases, as in the present colonisation of North Manchuria. The plans that China has in Mongolia may be seen from a report to the throne made last year by the Imperial resident in Kobdo. It says: "I have ordered officials to find ways and means how, on the one hand, to build new settlements, and, on the other, to obtain as many as possible new settlers. All natives and emigrants, whether Mongols, Chinese, or Kirghiz, and time-expired soldiers who wish to cultivate land, shall receive money for cattle and seed-corn, and shall be carefully protected by the authorities. The mineral wealth of the Altai Mountains has long been praised by the inhabitants. After careful consideration of pros and cons it is evident that it cannot be worked now, but companies must be formed which have sufficient capital for the carrying out of operations." By patience and sheer weight of numbers the Chinese will be able to turn aside the efforts of other countries to obtain a footing in the territories named, and,

moreover, will absorb the inhabitants, and ultimately make them more Chinese than the Chinese themselves.

All these developments will, of course, lead to an increase of trade and industry, but Sir Robert Hart recently did well in warning foreign merchants and manufacturers not to form too sanguine an expectation of China as a possible consumer on a grand scale of European products of all kinds. He pointed out that it should be remembered not only that China was originally self-contained and self-satisfying, but that she is now embarking on a manufacturing era. Thus, with her four million square miles of territory divided into over twenty provinces, each of which is a veritable kingdom in itself, the least having some ten millions and the greatest seventy millions of inhabitants, and with a total population of over 400,000,000, inter-provincial trade is large enough in itself. Foreign trade is a luxury and not a necessity, and even if it does continue and increase the Chinese themselves will require a larger share in its direct manipulation and will less depend on foreign middlemen at home and abroad, and not only will they do this, but Chinese manufactures, at some future day, will compete with foreign goods not only in China itself but elsewhere. Foreign trade apart, China's own inter-provincial native trade is immense; but as yet statistics are not available. The Chinaman is a born trader, and in his business transactions all foreign merchants agree in giving him the highest character for shrewdness, integrity, and reliability.

As to the immediate future of China, my friend Mr. V. K. Ting, who has studied in China, Japan, Britain, and on the Continent, after surveying existing conditions and tendencies, asks, What conclusion? and he replies, Briefly it is this: "That patriotic devotion and self-sacrifice can be found in the Chinese as well as in any other race. It is the lack of *Unity*, not the lack of patriotism, that makes foreign invasion possible, and gives the Manchu Dynasty a temporary security. Foreigners hitherto confound the one with

the other, and declare that we are unpatriotic, while abundance of proofs is to be found to the contrary. Patriotism has always existed, and still exists, in every part of China. It is on account of the difficulty of communication that our patriotism became somewhat inefficient—to the peasants their country is in their village; to the merchants it is in their town; and to the officials it is their emperor. What difference is there between this patriotism and the patriotism that was to be found in Europe before the last century? Germany was still divided in 1866, and Italy was only united in 1870. Then the word ‘patriotism’ as it is now understood is of quite recent generalisation. If such a patriotism is not general in China, it is because the masses have, up to the present, neither means nor time to realise their *common interest* and *common danger*. With the pressure from the outside and the developments within, does Europe still think the nationalism of China an impossibility? The organisation of the students, who came together to Japan from every corner of the Empire, ought to serve as a demonstration that, when circumstances are opportune, there is no difficulty in uniting men from different parts to act in unison and defend their one great Empire. Yet the very reverse is the thought and belief of Europe, and, when the true patriotism of our students manifested itself, Europe invented a term ‘Anti-foreign-feeling.’ Have we not the right to defend ourselves when attacked, and does not Europe admit that we have been wronged? We have, indeed, no need to find a new patriotism, but simply to unite the several patriotisms into one; and Europe cannot help us better than by building railways for us and threatening us at the same time with invasion. One day—and that not so far distant as most people think—we will prove to the world once more the time-honoured truth that *L’union fait la force*.”¹ Another Chinese student writes: “Treat us as one of yourselves, and you will find in us no disappointment. Remember that Orientals are human beings. The

¹ *The Westminster Review*, January 1908, p. 55.

difference between the East and the West is essentially of *degree* rather than *kind*, and we do not see why we should not achieve what every European nation has done before us. We will *fight and hope*.”¹ It is a very safe prophecy to say that, before the present century has been completed, China will have taken a very important part in moulding the destinies of the world.

¹ *The Westminster Review*, August 1908, p. 151.

CHAPTER VI

JAPAN AND THE PACIFIC AREA—*continued*

THE interest of the British Empire in the affairs of the Far East is shown by the fact that it has a line of outposts stretching from its own islands in the Atlantic to various points in the Pacific Ocean. Gibraltar is the first of the British outposts on the high-way to the East, and its strategical importance is evident, it being the entrance door to the Mediterranean. Malta is scarcely less important, affording, as it does, a base for the Mediterranean Fleet, and from its natural position and formation, aided by science, it is the most powerful maritime fortress in the world. Passing through the Suez Canal we have Aden, the sentinel of the Red Sea, round which are centred many political interests. Ceylon, with its commodious harbour at Colombo, is a half-way house in the Indian Ocean, at the extremity of which is Singapore, the gateway into the Pacific. It is the strategical point round which radiate the three divisions of the British Eastern Fleet—the East Indian, the China, and the Australian squadrons, which are based respectively on Bombay, Hong-Kong, and Sydney. In time of war Singapore would be the central rendezvous of these three squadrons for coaling, victualling, and refitting as well as for offensive movement.

The British
outposts.

Hong-Kong is the most important British outpost in the Far East, not only from a naval but also from a commercial point of view, and guards the mouth of the China Sea. The

acquisition of the Philippine Islands by the United States in 1898 gave them a fortified naval base in the flank of the British line of communications between Singapore and Hong - Kong, while the possession of Formosa by the Japanese strengthens her position from both a military and a naval point of view. Fortunately, the prospect of a struggle with either of these Powers is very remote, and, if ever it takes place, the statesmen who are responsible for it will be guilty of a crime past forgiveness. It is, however, as the greatest commercial port in the world, and as a centre of commercial distribution in the Far East, that Hong-Kong claims attention. We cannot, meantime, enter into the details of its past history or of its present trade, but it ought to be noted that political changes and engineering developments are likely to affect its future to a very large extent. With the Americans at Manila, the Germans at Kiao-chau, and the Japanese in Formosa, and with the development of other open ports and the construction of railways leading to all parts of China, at least the relative, if not the actual, importance of Hong-Kong is likely to diminish, and its future will be studied with interest. Some of the open ports in China, and notably Shanghai, are important international commercial settlements, in which the representatives of the Foreign Powers exercise extra-territorial jurisdiction over their countrymen. This, of course, can only be a temporary arrangement, for no really independent and strong Power can allow an *imperium in imperio*.

Other European countries have outposts in the Pacific area. France has Indo-China, Germany has Kiao-chau, and

European
outposts.

Holland has Java, about all of which a good deal could be said, but for our present purpose it is sufficient to note a few points. By the

Franco-Japanese Treaty the *status quo* as regards Indo-China is guaranteed to France, which is thus relieved from the dread of an attack from Japan which some writers in the "Yellow Press" tried to make her believe was meditated, but which only existed in their own imaginations. The

possession of Indo-China by France does not add much, if anything, either to her commercial prosperity or to her military strength in the Far East.

Java has had an interesting history under Holland, but the methods which have been adopted in its government are not likely to commend themselves to British statesmen. Almost all that can be said in their favour is that they are not nearly so bad as those which were carried on before the arrival of the Dutch. It is only fair that this should be stated, with regard to not only Java, but also other tropical regions. A very competent writer on the subject has said: "The plain fact, which is familiar to every one who has made a study of native institutions in the tropics, is that, with very few exceptions, each European Government which has been established in the tropics since the beginning of the seventeenth century, however selfish, brutal, and ignorant it may appear when compared with the best extra-tropical Governments of the same period, has been wise, liberal, and beneficent in comparison with the native Government which it replaced."¹

The Germans cannot boast of the success of their colonies generally, but they claim that Kiaochow on the Chinese coast has been successful. We have noted² the circumstances under which in 1898 it was transferred on a lease of 99 years, but with all the rights of sovereignty, to Germany. The German Government has certainly spared neither money nor energy in making it successful. They claim that its harbour is superior to that of any other port in Eastern Asia. The small fishing village, without streets or roads, which formerly existed there, has grown into a beautiful city, built according to a settled plan, with sewers, a good water-supply, an electric-light installation, beautifully paved streets, churches, hospitals, and schools both for Europeans and for Chinese, a post office, a market hall, and other public institutions. The Shantung Railway Company has over 300 miles of railway in working order, and it has

¹ Ireland, *The Far Eastern Tropics*, p. 170.

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² P. 63.

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opened up the country to trade and industry. It will ultimately be connected with the railway to Tientsin, and will thus open up a further vast and important territory to the trade of Kiao-chau. During the ten years the colony has been in existence, its trade has increased at a very rapid rate. It is held that the system of land-tenure in Kiao-chau is largely responsible for its phenomenal rise, as it has, to a large extent, supplied the means, by a system of taxation of land-values, which not only brings in a large revenue to the Government, but also effectually stops all speculation in land and prevents the holding of land idle. The example of Kiao-chau should be carefully studied by land reformers.

Although from time to time during the last century the Government of the United States or their agents had annexed a certain number of small islands in the Pacific, chiefly on account of their guano deposits, the first important annexation made by them was that of Hawaii in 1898. It is a half-way house between the continents of America and Asia, and is thus important as a station for coaling and provisions, for shipping, either of the mercantile marine or of the navy. It consists of twelve islands; four are barren rocks, one is the home of lepers, seven are fertile, beautiful, and peopled by a variety of races. Opinions differ as to the origin of the Kanakas or Hawaiians proper, some arguing that they come from the East, that is, from America, others that they come from the West and that they are among the oldest of the Polynesian peoples, being a branch of the Malay race, which started from what is now the Dutch East Indies, and gradually scattered themselves over the face of the seas. At the beginning of last century the population showed a tendency to emerge from barbarism into civilisation, no doubt through contact with Europeans, especially Spaniards and Portuguese. In 1820 a band of American missionaries arrived in the islands and began the process of civilising in something like a systematic manner. Unfortunately, along with that came

The United
States' outposts.

Western vices, which brought about diseases, especially leprosy, which played great havoc among the natives. Captain Cook, in his day, estimated their number at 400,000, which was probably an exaggeration, but it is sad to relate that it is now little more than a tenth of that number. It is now, however, largely supplemented by Chinese, Japanese, Americans, and Europeans. The Chinese began to come in 1865, having been invited, and indeed brought over, by the Hawaiian Bureau of Immigration. After the Restoration in Japan in 1868, considerable numbers of Japanese found their way to Hawaii, but it was not till 1884 that the Japanese Government recognised emigration, and from that time they began to arrive in thousands. Some of them being somewhat turbulent after the war between Japan and China, the fear was expressed that the Japanese might seize the islands, but such an idea never received any encouragement from the Japanese Government.

The independence of Hawaii had been guaranteed by France and Britain in 1843; and the United States, though not a party to this agreement, had nevertheless on more than one occasion used its armed forces to repress disorder and maintain the reign of law. For over forty years from that date the little kingdom was under a constitutional monarchy, which continued the line of native kings, the government being run chiefly by representatives of the white population. The last king, Kala-Kaua I., made himself rather ridiculous in his latter years by imitating the styles of European courts which he had visited and where he had been received with royal honours, and he became ambitious to be the head of a great Polynesian empire. This and other matters brought him into trouble, not only with his own subjects but also with the Western Powers, and he died in 1891 worn out by worry and disappointment. He was succeeded by his sister, who attempted autocratic methods, and set herself to the task of abrogating the constitution and restoring the personal government of her ancestors. On January 14, 1893, the Queen had planned to promulgate, by royal decree,

a new constitution, which should supersede the old one. Her ministry informed her that such an act would be revolutionary. She demanded their resignations, but they refused compliance, and issued a proclamation (January 15) setting forth these facts, and declaring the throne vacant. On the following day, a mass meeting of the foreign residents and many of the natives formally decided that in view of the Queen's arbitrary acts, strongest measures were needed "for the preservation of the public credit and to avert the final ruin of a financial condition already overstrained."

A Provisional Government was formed, and it was proposed that Hawaii should be annexed to the United States. This proposal, however, raised great opposition, and Congress took no action at the time, although shortly afterwards the Republic of Hawaii was formally recognised by the United States. The feeling in favour of annexation, however, increased in the United States, and it was reciprocated in Hawaii. During the war with Spain, after the battle of Manila Bay, the Republic of Hawaii openly violated international law in order to show its friendliness to the American cause. American ships of war were allowed to take in coal at Honolulu, and, in fact, to make that port a naval base. The new importance of Hawaii from a strategic point of view became so obvious that a very strong sentiment for annexation was created in the United States. The Hawaiian Congress invited a union of the two countries, and this was actually effected, on President McKinley's recommendation, by joint resolution of both Houses. A later act of Congress (April 30, 1900) made Hawaii a fully organised territory, and declared its citizens to be citizens of the United States; and to the new territory were extended the general provisions of the Constitution and laws of the United States. The unfounded alarm about the intentions of the Japanese was no doubt used chiefly as a means of advancing the wishes of the annexationists, who had their wishes carried out.

The latest published statistics regarding Hawaii show

that the population of the islands at present is made up as follows :—

Japanese	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	72,000
Hawaiians	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	35,000
Portuguese	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	23,000
Chinese	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	18,000
Europeans and Americans	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12,000
Koreans	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5,000
Spaniards	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,000
Others	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,000

Two points are worthy of note. The first is the rapid decrease of the purely Hawaiian population. Among the 35,000 entered under the heading of Hawaiians the great majority are said to be of mixed blood, and the number of such persons is constantly increasing. The second is that the Japanese are in a large majority, being double the number of Hawaiians, more than three times the number of Portuguese, and six times the number of white men. The Lower House of the Hawaiian Legislature recently, by a large majority, passed a resolution declaring that the Japanese are a beneficial element of the population of the islands, heartily approving of the exertions of the President to prevent the passage of anti-Japanese laws, and further congratulating the Californian Legislature on rejecting such bills. The Hawaiian Islands will, in the future, offer many interesting problems, not only of a political but also of an anthropological nature, and no doubt they will be carefully watched by students of these subjects.

Among other doubtful blessings which Western civilisation has brought to the Hawaiian Islands is militarism, and they may some day be the theatre of a fierce struggle, should hostilities ever break out between the United States of America and an Eastern Power. It is stated that the War Department of the United States aims at converting the island of Oahu, the one of the Hawaiian group on which are Honolulu, the capital, and Pearl Harbour, one of the greatest natural harbours in the world, into the "Gibraltar

of the Pacific." The officials of the Department are at work on plans for the fortification of Pearl Harbour, and millions of dollars are to be spent in carrying them out ; so that along with the vices of Western civilisation which have almost exterminated the natives, Hawaii is to have added all the evils which follow in the wake of militarism.

More important, however, than the annexation of Hawaii was that of the Philippine Islands after the war with Spain over the question of Cuba. We need not, meantime, discuss either the facts of that war or the constitutional questions involved ; it is sufficient to note that under the terms of the Peace Protocol of August 12, 1898, the United States were authorised to "occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbour of Manila pending the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines"; and under the terms of that treaty, concluded on December 10, 1898, Spain ceded to the United States the archipelago containing the Philippine Islands. The Filipinos attempted to institute an independent republic ; but after a desultory war, which lasted a considerable time, they were compelled to yield, and the United States entered upon the control of a tropical dependency in the Far East, and assumed a very serious responsibility towards seven million people who had formerly been subjects of Spain. Some of the consequences of this step we will consider shortly a little farther on.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The inhabitants of the countries in the Pacific area, which we have considered in their relations to Japan, are for the most part Eastern by race, and even in territories under Western government the native population far outnumbers all the others. When, however, we cross to the other side of the Pacific and pass southward to Australasia we meet an entirely new set of problems, not only as regards race but also economic conditions. Some of these are already

demanding attention, and have indeed raised serious international questions. The more important of these we will now briefly consider.

In a previous chapter¹ a sketch has been given of the relations of Japan with the United States of America at the time of the re-opening of Japan to other nations ; and it was noted that in the treaty with the Japan and the United States. United States it was stipulated that the President would act as friendly adviser in case of any difference between Japan and any European Power. In the early days of foreign intercourse the Government of the United States was considered to be not only the friend but also the protector of Japan ; and the history of the beginning of the Meiji period contains the record of many friendly acts on the part of the Government of the United States, when the representatives of other Powers were, as yet, not inclined to take Japan very seriously, or even to admit her to the rights to which she had a just claim. A few illustrations of that friendly action will be interesting at the present time, when certain questions have arisen which have caused considerable discussion, and which have given some sections of the press the opportunity of doing their best to raise trouble between the two countries.

The goodwill of the Government of the United States to Japan was strikingly shown in 1883, when in response to a widely expressed public sentiment, Congress refunded to Japan \$785,000, the share of the United States of the indemnity paid by Japan after the bombardment of Shimonoseki. As already remarked, that event was the immediate cause of Japan determining to take full advantage of Western science and appliances to enable her to assume her proper place among the nations of the world ; and, although in the end it proved a blessing to Japan, at the time it seemed a very high-handed, if not barbarous, proceeding. The return of this indemnity only gave a tangible form to the spirit of goodwill which the representatives

¹ P. 25.

always showed to the Government of Japan when any international question of importance arose. Several questions of this kind threatened serious difficulty, but on each occasion the friendly intervention of the representatives of the United States had the effect of settling them. During the long period when the subject of treaty revision was under discussion, the American representatives made several unsuccessful attempts to meet the legitimate aspirations of Japan; and, although the first revised treaty was made between Great Britain and Japan, the United States Government deserves a great part of the credit of educating public opinion on the subject.

When General Grant visited Japan in 1879 he did not hesitate to give the Japanese Ministers advice, which did much to strengthen them in their resolve to insist on what they believed to be their national rights. He pointed out to them that one of the odd phases of British policy in the East was that while Britain allows her own colonies to do as they please in tariffs, to have Free Trade or Protection, she insists that Japan and China shall arrange their imports and tariffs solely with the view of helping British trade. In other words, Japan, an independent Power, was under a duress that Canada or Australia would never accept. This anomalous condition of affairs, he said, would continue so long as the treaty remained. He advised Japan to make a statement of her case to the world, to show the circumstances under which this treaty was made, and how her ignorance was used to put her in an unfortunate and humiliating position. She should recall her own extraordinary progress in accepting and absorbing the modern civilisation, that in doing this she had opened her Empire to modern enterprise, and shown the best evidence of her desire to be friendly with the world. She should recount the disadvantages under which the treaty placed her—not alone moral, but material, crippling and limiting her resources. She should, he said, announce that the treaty was at an end, but that she was prepared to sign the most favourable conventions that

could be devised, provided the treaty Powers recognised her sovereign, independent rights. She should at the same time proclaim her tariff, open her ports and the interior of her country, welcome foreign capital, foreign immigration, foreign labour, and assert her sovereignty. There was no danger, General Grant said, that Britain would make war on Japan for a tariff. Similar opinions began to be held by the representatives of the Foreign Powers, and it is satisfactory to know that Great Britain was the first Power to conclude a treaty with Japan in which she was recognised as a fully independent Power.

The recent relations between Japan and the United States have been somewhat disturbed by the discussion regarding Japanese immigration. The Governments of the two countries have remained perfectly friendly, but the riots which have taken place on the Pacific coast on account of the local opposition to Japanese labour have led to a good deal of extravagant writing, not only in the American newspapers, but also in some of those in Japan, and most absurd rumours have been circulated regarding the future relations of Japan and the United States. Fortunately the good sense of the responsible statesmen in both countries has removed the dangers, if indeed these ever actually existed. It would be one of the greatest tragedies in the history of the world should war ever break out between Japan and the United States. It was through the action of the United States that Japan was re-opened to the peoples of the West, and the two countries have always been the best of friends. Their material interests do not clash in any way sufficient to cause any serious difficulty, and the matters about which there has been any discussion or even the appearance of friction are all capable of easy adjustment, if they are kept apart from party politics and journalistic extravagances. A few remarks on the circumstances which led to the troubles about immigration will help to make the present conditions clear.

For more than half a century the United States of America have always been crying out for people, and the

appeal met with a hearty response from every country in Europe. Many of the best men and women from all parts of the world have flocked to the United States, and have helped to build up the great Republic, but there have also been numbers who did not strengthen it, from either a physical or a moral point of view. Some time ago the Commissioner of Immigration at New York wrote: "We shall soon find that this country is the harbouring place for the malcontents, criminals, and illiterates of the world." In a note to the Powers, Mr. Hay the Secretary of State, concerning the Roumanian Jews said: "America welcomes now, as always, the voluntary immigration of all aliens fitted to become merged in the body politic. Its laws provide for their incorporation indistinguishably in the mass of citizens, with absolute equality with the native-born. Equal civil rights at home and equal protection abroad are guaranteed them. Almost none are excluded except paupers, criminals, and the contagiously or incurably diseased. The voluntary character of the immigration is essential. Hence assisted or constrained immigration is shut out. The purpose of this generous treatment of the alien immigrant is to benefit him and the country alike, not to afford another State a refuge for its undesirable elements."

In recent years much stricter regulations have been made for the admission of immigrants, and physical, financial, and educational tests are applied which, at any rate, exclude the most undesirable among them; but for half a century the United States of America have revelled in a carnival of miscegenation. Hers is the most mongrel race on earth, and the time may come when the country will be saturated by the alien element, and it will be difficult to discern traces of the original Government and the spirit of American institutions. The elementary schools, it is true, form a melting-pot, which reduces all the nationalities to something like a common denomination, but that differs very much from the product of the English or Dutch stock which has supplied the typical American race.

We do not propose to discuss the general question of the population of the United States, and merely mention these facts to show the inconsistency which the Americans have shown in their treatment of a really hard-working and well-behaved race,—the Chinese. Nearly thirty years ago the Chinese exclusion laws were put into operation. "They were passed to appease labourers with whom the Chinese did not and could not compete. They were then, as now, chiefly employed as agriculturists and in the performance of work which no American would voluntarily do—that is, menial drudgery. The class which declared itself injured by Chinese labour were not Americans, but European aliens, accustomed to nearly, if not quite, as low and degraded social conditions as the Chinese; yet no sooner had they landed in America than they joined in the clamour for excluding these exceedingly useful and industrious immigrants from the country. It is highly probable that much of the immigration which has come to America from Asia is superior to that which has come from Europe. It is morally certain that China has not sent paupers, criminals, or lunatics. America, by her exclusion law, has certainly largely divorced herself from a nation from which she might derive much more commercial benefit than she does at present, or is likely to do in the near future."¹

The subject has been recently discussed by Mr. Oscar S. Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labour, and, from his official position and general knowledge, he is well qualified to give a trustworthy opinion regarding it.² He says: "The present policy of the United States toward Chinese immigration has existed for nearly a generation. A governmental policy so long pursued is not to be lightly changed, nor is it the present purpose to suggest any change, so far as the spirit of the policy is concerned. What I would urge is not only based on a full recognition of the fixed character of the present policy, but is entirely in furtherance of it. It

¹ Beckles Willson, *The New America*, p. 174.

² *North American Review*, April 1908, p. 483.

is only suggested that the letter of the law, as expressed and enforced to-day, may not be so effectively and harmoniously in accord with the spirit of the policy as it might be. It is not the policy of the Government with reference to Chinese immigration, but the manner in which it is, of necessity, carried out, by reason of the way in which the laws are framed, that causes friction and dissatisfaction. It has been the policy of this Government, as would appear from its laws and treaties, to exclude persons of the Chinese race merely because they are Chinese, regardless of the class to which they belong, and without reference to their age, sex, culture, or occupation, or the object of their coming to this country, or the length of their stay in it. The real purpose of the Government's policy is to exclude a particular and well-defined class, leaving other classes of Chinese, except as they, in common with all other foreigners, may be included within the prohibitions of the general immigration laws—as free to come and go as the citizens or subjects of any other nation. As the laws are framed, however, it would appear as if the purpose were rigidly to exclude persons of the Chinese race in general, and to admit only such persons of the race as fall within certain expressly stated exemptions. I regard this feature of the present laws as unnecessary, and fraught with irritating consequences. In the administration of the laws as framed, no matter what care is taken to treat with courtesy and consideration persons of the Chinese race who are lawfully entitled to admission, it is impossible that those who have to endure the formalities required of them should fail to take offence and to resent as a humiliation the manner in which by law they are distinguished from natives of other countries. Laws so framed can only be regarded as involving discrimination on account of race, though discriminations on account of race, colour, previous condition or religion, are alike opposed to the principles of the Republic and to the spirit of its institutions."

Mr. Straus concludes by saying: "I would not suggest a change in the established policy of rigidly excluding

Chinese labourers of every description, both skilled and unskilled. The policy has been and will continue to be as effectively enforced as circumstances will permit. But at a time when this policy of exclusion has been so thoroughly applied that there remain in the United States only about 70,000 Chinese—less than one-tenth of 1 per cent, of our population—little danger need be apprehended from a full and fair reconsideration of the subject, and a recasting of the laws upon a juster basis. Indeed, a more opportune moment than the present can hardly be desired for reaching a better understanding with China on the subject of Chinese immigration, and for adjusting the letter to the spirit of our national policy of exclusion. By making admission the rule, and exclusion the exception, we could easily preserve the present policy in all its integrity, and even strengthen the real prohibitory features thereof, at the same time removing a material cause of friction, dissatisfaction, and unnecessary humiliation to the people of a friendly nation." If the spirit and methods indicated in these remarks were adopted and applied in a common-sense manner according to the economic conditions involved, there would be no real racial difficulty in the United States or indeed in any other country.

If the Chinese feel humiliated by the treatment which they have received, we can easily imagine the feelings of the Japanese who have a treaty with the United States, in which, among other things, it is stipulated that "the subjects or citizens of each of the two High Contracting Parties shall have full liberty to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the territories of the other Contracting Party, and shall enjoy full and perfect protection for their persons and property." No doubt when that agreement was come to, it was not anticipated that Japanese, in sufficient numbers to cause any economic or social difficulties, or stir up racial animosity, would go to the United States. Commercialism, however, had taken hold of large numbers of the adventurous spirits from Japan who had emigrated to Hawaii, and they became ambitious to enter a wider sphere of activity, and

they crossed over to the American Continent, while many others were tempted by emigration companies in Japan to follow their example. The only object of these companies was to make money out of their operations without regard to the welfare of the persons immediately concerned or to the friendly relations of Japan and the United States. Even these conditions would not have been sufficient to have caused any trouble if it had not been for the reckless writing in the "yellow press," which has become a danger to the peace of the world. Common-sense and self-restraint were all that were needed to arrive at a satisfactory understanding, and these two qualities have been shown in a marked degree by the responsible Japanese.

When the newspaper discussion was at its height and when some sections of the press were endeavouring to make the world believe that war was imminent between Japan and the United States, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs declared that the relations between the two countries were as smooth and as cordial as ever, and that the cause of civilisation, as well as community of interest, demanded lasting peace and friendship between them. While admitting that the immigration question was a serious matter, and had for some time been uppermost in the public mind, he was sure it would be settled without difficulty, as indeed it soon was settled. The Japanese Government, while insisting on all its treaty rights, proposed to control emigration to the United States in such a way as to benefit Japan and at the same time to conform to the wishes of America. The Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs further said that one thing was certain, namely, that Japan was not solicitous for the emigration of any of its people to any country. What, however, she could not tolerate was that any who did leave Japan should be treated as if they were the inferiors of the other great Powers. As we have seen, the most powerful influence in spurring on the Japanese in Western civilisation was the determination to make their country stand in a position of equality with other countries, and to raise the

status of Japan ever higher and higher. In any dealings with Japan, if this is forgotten, trouble will inevitably follow.

Recent events on the Pacific Slope, bearing on the relations of Americans and Japanese, can only be described as profoundly disgraceful to Western civilisation. The local press seized with avidity the opportunity of fanning the flame of unworthy prejudice, despite the fact that the two nations having recently concluded an agreement are striving to sink their differences and live in amity. The "negro" question is a very difficult one in America, especially in the Southern States, but in the States of the Pacific Slope, the question is entirely an economic one, and any feeling which now exists has been artificially created—the work in short of American Labour Unions. That being so, any attempt to convert it into a racial issue, on a similar footing to that which is the curse of the South, cannot be too ruthlessly exposed or too strongly condemned. American journalism, as represented in the Western States, lies indeed under a heavy responsibility.

The commercial relations between the United States and Japan and the Far East generally have gone on rapidly increasing in importance. The remarkable prophecy by Seward in 1852, which has been referred to, was made while Japan was still shut out from contact with the world, at a time when

Commercial
interests of
United States
in Far East.

Alaska was as unknown and remote as Central Africa in that day, seventeen years before the first trans-continental railway was built, and long before the first steamship line from America to the Orient was started. It is now being rapidly fulfilled. The existing trade with Japan, China, and the Philippines is large and valuable, and may be estimated for general purposes at some 300,000,000 dollars or £60,000,000 sterling a year. In broad terms it may be said to consist, on the one hand, of American purchases on a very large scale of such things as Japanese and Chinese silks, teas, and other eastern products, and, on the other, of the sale of American cottons, flour, machinery, iron and steel, mineral

oils, and lumber. Notwithstanding the vast field on the American continent, competitive commercialism impels the manufacturers and traders of the United States to enter the struggle for a share of the markets of the world, and naturally they direct their attention specially to the Far East, where there is a large population which is likely to become customers for their productions.

The action of the United States Government in excluding Chinese from their country has raised a very bitter feeling in China, with the result that since 1905 American goods have to a considerable extent been boycotted by the various trade guilds and business and commercial associations of the Empire. At the date mentioned China held first rank among Oriental countries as a consumer of American products. In that year, her total foreign commerce amounted to 497,000,000 dollars, of which 329,000,000 dollars were imports; and of these 57,000,000 dollars, or more than 17 per cent, were supplied by the United States. The exports from the United States to China had grown to these proportions by rapid strides. They were less than 3,000,000 dollars in the seventies. They only reached 7,500,000 in 1886, 12,000,000 in 1897, 15,000,000 in 1900, 24,000,000 in 1902, and 57,000,000 in 1905. It was reasonable to believe that American trade would continue to progress in something like the same ratio, and a larger and larger share of the foreign trade of China accrue to the United States. Instead of that, the exports of the United States to China fell to 44,000,000 dollars in 1906, and to 26,000,000 in 1907. It is not necessary to attribute the decline wholly to the boycott, but a drop of American exports to China of 50 per cent in two years is sufficiently startling to challenge attention, and to show not only the people of the United States, but also those of Europe, that in future, when they have dealings with the Far East, they must be guided by justice and equity. It is quite evident that a policy of complete exclusion on the part of the United States or any other country will ultimately put an

end to all intercourse not only with China, but also with the countries of the Far East generally, and this would lead to very serious consequences, not only political but also economic and social.

No doubt the commercial interests of the United States in the Far East formed an important factor in bringing about the annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines, as well as of a number of smaller islands in the Pacific, the possession of which has, in a sense, made them a Far Eastern Power. That possession is evidently incompatible with the old ideal of diplomatic seclusion and non-interference. While, however, extending their authority it weakened their power of defence, although it increased that of offence, should it ever be necessary to exercise it.

Before the annexation of these islands the position of the United States in the Pacific was strategically impregnable, for however strong the concentration of hostile naval forces along her extensive Pacific sea-board might become, little permanent injury could have been done to her. A few coast towns might have been bombarded, but the population and resources of the United States would have made any permanent aggression impossible. "If all the naval forces were to combine to attack her, what would be her reply? She would fill her ports with mines; she would draw her ships of war behind them, ready to rush out as favourable opportunities might offer to attack. But she would do more than this in extremity; she would close her ports—a few loaded scows would do the business—and all the Powers in the world would be impotent to injure her seriously. The fringe only would be troubled; the great empire within would scarcely feel the attack. The injury she would inflict upon the principal Powers by closing her ports would be much more serious than could be inflicted upon her, because non-exportation of food-stuffs and cotton would mean famine and distress to Britain, and injure her to a greater degree than loss in battle. Even in France and in Germany the results of non-exportation would be more

serious than the effects of ordinary war. It would only be a matter of a short time until the Powers recognised how futile was their attempt to injure this self-contained Republic, whose estate lies secure within a ring fence."¹

With external possessions such as Hawaii and the Philippines, and especially the latter, the United States became an Imperial Power, with all the problems belonging thereto, and it is doubtful whether American statesmen, not to speak of the American public, fully realised the meaning of the position in which they had placed their country. Like British statesmen and the British public, they were for the most part content to blunder into difficulties and to muddle through them as best they could. Some of the people professed to believe that in the development towards the East they recognised the inevitable destiny of the United States to become a world-power, but few of them really perceived either the number or the importance of the problems involved. Others contended that Providence had opened for the American people a new and larger destiny, from which they could not shrink without evading holy duty, and that it had become their sacred task to undertake the civilisation of a backward people committed to their charge. Territorial extension can become a holy duty only when we can confer blessings upon the subject races, otherwise the proper name for it is criminal aggression. Blessings can come only when the people are helped to develop themselves in their own way, and any attempt to impose Western civilisation forcibly from without must end in utter failure.

Whatever the motives underlying her action or the forces which caused that action may have been, the United States have been led to take an active part in affairs in the Far East, and they have been drawn into the vortex of Far Eastern politics. Formerly they were content to allow European Powers to cut and carve at China without protest, now they have not only formulated policies but they take in hand momentous negotiations, and have not hesitated to

¹ Andrew Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth*, p. 182.

back up their opinions by armed forces. During the Boxer troubles they landed an army on Chinese territory, and took an active part in the diplomatic contest for the evacuation of Manchuria and the maintenance of the open door in that country, and altogether recent developments have transformed American indifference to the fortunes of the Far East to a vigilant, if not always very intelligent, concern, and the people now recognise that the relations of the United States to the Powers of the Far East will become, before very long, more important and probably more hazardous than the relations with the Powers of Europe.

A short time ago the American Secretary of State said that he had been studying carefully the Japanese administration of Formosa, and he expressed the opinion that the American Government had a good deal to learn from it. The government of the Philippines. The problem of the Philippines, however, is much more difficult than that of Formosa. The latter is now an integral part of the Japanese Empire, and gradually, as conditions admit, its legislation and administration will be assimilated to that of the other parts of the Empire; but, if the Philippines are ultimately to rank as one of the United States of America, the goal in view must be the same self-government as that of the other States in the Union, and this requires, as a condition precedent, a high degree of civilisation and intelligence. The task which has been undertaken by the United States is, in fact, to make an American citizen out of a Filipino, and this is a task which those who have any personal knowledge of tropical races will admit must require a long time for its accomplishment, or even for a moderate degree of success. In any case, the product will differ considerably from the average American citizen, and those who are responsible for the government of the Islands must always keep in mind the differences of environment of the United States and the Philippines, and make due allowance for them. A competent writer has remarked: "That the Filipino is capable, if left to himself and protected from

outside interference, of developing, in the course of time, some such government and civilisation as may be found to-day in the States of Central America is a theory on which opposing opinions may reasonably be entertained by honest and competent observers; but that he can remain in his present geographical environment, free from the constant oversight of a non-tropical race, and yet become, even in the course of ages, a creature of schools, ballot-boxes, and free political institutions, is beyond any flight of an imagination which is checked by the smallest knowledge of tropical life.”¹

The same writer makes the following suggestions with regard to the measures which appear to him to be immediately necessary to ensure the welfare of the Philippines:—

1. The free entry of all Philippine products into the United States.

2. The importation into the Islands, under proper restrictions and safeguards, of such numbers of Chinese and Japanese skilled and unskilled labourers as may be desired by the Government or by responsible private parties.

3. The opening up of the country by means of good roads.

4. The encouragement of American capital by granting liberal terms to miners, planters, and others willing to invest their money in industrial enterprises.

5. The abolition of the Philippine Commission and the Provincial Governments, and the substitution in their place of a Governor-General, who, with the aid of an appointed Council composed of Americans and Filipinos, should be empowered to legislate for all the internal affairs of the Islands, subject to the veto of some authority in the United States.

6. The creation of an Insular Office in Washington, which shall be run on non-political lines similar to those of the Army and Navy Departments.

7. The transference of the control of all Public Works,

¹ Ireland, *The Far Eastern Tropics*, p. 253.

except such as fall to the Municipalities, to the Insular Government.

These proposals might be sufficient to begin with, but they have within them the germs of many difficulties, racial, economic, and governmental, and would require to be developed as conditions evolved. If American greed of gold is allowed to exploit the resources of the Islands, the great body of the natives will be reduced to a state which in many respects will be worse than slavery. If on the other hand the Philippines were given complete independence, they would fall under the despotic rule of a small body of clever men, who, with their foreign education and training and their race identity with the natives, would find it easy to establish an ascendancy over the masses which would keep them in a state of political and economic subjection. A wise statesmanship will aim at developing the resources of the Islands as a means of improving the intellectual and moral conditions of the people, and fitting them to live the highest life which is possible to them. The future of the Philippines will be watched with great interest by all who are studying racial and economic problems. Like Mauritius, it may afford a very useful object-lesson, but at the same time very great care will be necessary in applying that to larger spheres in which the conditions are different.

The recent developments in political and commercial affairs in the Far East have made the construction of the Panama Canal a strategic necessity of the first importance to the United States, and, when it ^{The trans-Isthmian Canal.} has been completed, it will in its turn raise many new problems of a very serious nature. We need not meantime enter into either the engineering or the financial questions involved; a glance at those of a strategic and economic nature will be sufficient for our present purpose.¹

The strategic value of the Canal has long been understood by many of the public men of the United States, and

¹ Cf. *A Paper by A. R. Colquhoun on the Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, Feb. 1908.

by none more than President Roosevelt. In his message to the American navy on its departure on the Pacific cruise, he spoke of it as going from its "home-waters in the Atlantic" to its "home-waters in the Pacific," although to do so it had to perform the longest journey ever undertaken by such a fleet. The canal would shorten by 9000 miles the distance between the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts of the United States, and reduce the voyage from three months to three weeks, a matter of the greatest importance in view of the rapidly increasing interests of the United States in the Far East, the growth of Japan as a world-power, and the awakening of China, which will give rise to many complex international problems. The Canal will at once send up the value of the West Indies from a strategic point of view, and by diverting a great stream of traffic through the Caribbean Sea will give the Islands fresh opportunities for economic development. It has been suggested that the ultimate fate of these Islands is annexation to the United States, but another possibility arises in the marvellously rapid growth of Canada. There seems no valid reason why Canada should not economically be to the British West Indies what the United States will ultimately be to Cuba. These regions are complementary to each other. If we are to realise the ideal of making our Empire self-supporting, we shall find use for all our tropical colonies.

The vast changes which have taken place and which will continue to take place in the Pacific and in the Far East of Asia, emphasise the value of this alternative route for Britain to India, the China Sea, and Australasia. Our main line of communication with the East—the Mediterranean and Suez Canal—is open to attack along the whole route from the English Channel to the Red Sea, and the possibility that some Power may cut across our direct line of communication with India and Australia makes the question of an alternative route to our dominions beyond the seas a very practical one. The first result of the completion of the Panama Canal will be the rapid development

of the trade of the United States with South America and the Far East and no doubt also with Australasia, and this will, of course, be accompanied by a large increase in its mercantile marine. The Canal will also much increase the efficiency of the navy of the United States, as it will be able to pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific side in a very short time. Both of these results will have a very important bearing on the future relations of Japan and the United States, not only from a commercial point of view, but also from the point of view of naval and military strength, and they will be very important factors in determining the future policy of the two countries. The commercial changes which are inevitable carry with them the great probability of other great political changes. Not only will the United States have to protect the Canal, but its predominance both in the West Indies and along the Pacific coast of South America must be steadily enhanced. Already, by means of its hold on Cuba and Porto Rico, it commands the principal trade-routes to Panama, and its influence in Haiti, Venezuela, and Columbia is certain to grow enormously, while Ecuador, Peru, and Chili, with their vast resources must come more and more within the sphere of Washington's foreign policy. Again, our own Australasian colonies will be drawn nearer to the United States by increasing trade, by sympathy, and by mutual interests in the Pacific. Lastly, there is the great problem of the future development of Japan and China, with which we will deal more fully later on.

It is, however, doubtful whether the Canal will be a commercial success, at least for a very long time, but this very fact serves to enhance the credit due to the political foresight which recognises that its value to the promoters in other directions justifies the expenditure, even when there is small hope of a financial return. When we have to consider centuries and the human race, the want of a dividend on a few millions for a few years should not loom very large in our calculations.

The voyage of the American fleet from the Atlantic to

the Pacific is, as Carlyle would have said, significant of much, in fact, it is probably the most significant of recent events in the history of the United States. Probably those who are responsible for it would not admit that recent relations between Japan and the United States on the subject of immigration were the main cause of the voyage. It cannot, however, be doubted that they were the immediate cause. As to the wisdom of the proceeding there is room for much difference of opinion ; but, meantime, if we look at it from the point of view of the politics of the United States, we see that it emphasises the importance of the evolution which is going on in the Pacific area and the Far East generally. It further marks the emergence of the United States from the sphere of American-Continental politics into world-politics, or what is nowadays, although somewhat indefinitely, called Imperialism, thus showing that a government which is nominally Republican may in its policy carry out Imperialistic ideas. The cost of the cruise is estimated at two millions sterling (but will probably be much more), which may not be a large sum even to such a superfluously wealthy nation as the United States, but we may assume that it would not have been spent if it had not been meant to foreshadow a definite change of policy and a recognition of the new direction that American interests are likely to take in the future.

The departure of the American fleet for the Pacific practically left the whole of the Atlantic sea-board unprotected, a fact which is very significant of the altered and improved relations between the United States and Europe, and especially Great Britain. Situated between Europe and Asia the United States have grown up to a large extent as an offshoot of Europe, from which they have derived their language, their laws, their culture, their system of government, and practically all their population, and, with the exception of a small struggle with Mexico, she has been at war with none but European Powers. During the past

decade or so, however, the importance of the Atlantic in the scheme of American policy and strategy has largely diminished, and the menace of war with a European Power has almost disappeared. The good sense of the British people and of the United States now insists that a war between them would be an absurdity, and therefore should be an impossibility. There are small questions still pending between the United States on the one hand and Canada on the other, but the idea that any one of them, or all of them put together, could result in a war between Great Britain and the United States would be rejected as monstrous and incredible by all really thoughtful persons in both countries.

The interests of other European countries in the West Indies are so small that they are never likely to raise any serious difficulties. If we were looking simply at the economic forces at work, we would have little hesitation in coming to the conclusion that many, if not all, of the West Indian Islands should form part of the United States ; sentiment and the wish for naval bases are the only reasons for their retention by the European Powers. Economic forces, however, are stronger than sentiment, and with the growing good-feeling between the United States and Europe, and especially Great Britain, the need for naval bases will disappear. It is probable therefore that the West Indian Islands will either ultimately become American (either by purchase or by amicable diplomatic arrangement by which interests will, as far as possible, be adjusted), or be directly connected with Canada, which again may ultimately become part of a great American Dominion, while that again may only be a part of a great English-speaking Federation.

Probably one reason for the voyage of the American fleet was to show the people of America the necessity for a strong navy, in order to prove that the Government of the United States was determined that the Munroe Doctrine, which forbade any European or Asiatic Power effecting a lodgment on South American soil, was not merely an academic doctrine, but had become a fundamental part in

American politics to be enforced, if need be, with ships and guns. President Roosevelt enlarged the Doctrine from a negative embargo to a policy of positive action, which confers responsibilities as well as privileges which may ultimately lead to a confederation of States which will include the whole of the Continents of North and South America, leaving, however, each free to regulate and develop its own internal affairs. The United States would naturally, for some considerable time at any rate, be the dominant partner in this confederation, and no doubt it is on these grounds that a larger navy is advocated, in order that it might not only be able to keep the peace between the various States of South America, but also if necessary it might repel any attempt at European or Asiatic aggression.

Whatever the intentions of those who planned the voyage of the American fleet may have been, the tact of the Japanese turned it into a means of showing their good-will and cementing the friendship between their country and the United States. It had also considerable significance to Australia, and proved the racial bond which existed between all the races of Western origin, a bond which would be immensely strengthened should any common danger ever threaten those races in any of the countries bounded by the Pacific area.

The decision of the American Government to keep half its naval forces in the Pacific shows its opinion regarding the increasing importance of the interests of the United States in that area. We need not meantime discuss the wisdom or otherwise of this step. It may be chiefly for effect, but it is not the only indication that the Great Republic looks upon the wide waters of the Pacific with different eyes from those of a decade ago. On the Hawaiian Islands, as on the Philippines, heavy guns are being mounted, and defensive works are springing into existence. The Government of the United States is already learning that naval ambition involves more than the mere building of war-ships, that *Welt-Politik* and Empire are grave and costly

pursuits. Thus in East and West alike the great War-Game is being played, at ruinous expense to all concerned.

The momentous issues involved in a war between the United States and Japan are sufficient to cause the responsible statesmen in both countries to do all in their power to prevent its outbreak. Racial antipathy and the economic problems connected with labour raise forces which are very difficult to control with the very limited powers possessed by the central authority under the American Constitution, which, being apt to act on the impulse of the moment with an imperfect appreciation of consequences, has introduced a factor into international politics which cannot be ignored. A short consideration of the conditions of a conflict between the United States and Japan may convince all immediately concerned of the folly and futility, it might almost be said the madness, of such a conflict, and thus help to render it impossible.

Conditions of a
war between
Japan and the
United States.

In the first place, the probabilities of indefinite complications with other Powers are such as to make it impossible to put a limit to the struggle, should it once be commenced. Our alliance with Japan comes into force only when our interests on the Asiatic Continent are threatened; but, if a naval war broke out between Japan and the United States, it is very probable that Russia would take the opportunity of asserting her lost position in Manchuria, and we would be called upon to fulfil our treaty obligations with Japan. This fact would be sufficient to induce Great Britain to exert all her influence to prevent a breach of the peace, an example which would probably be followed by that of the other Powers, in order that they might prevent the commercial disorganisation which would inevitably follow.

The issue of a conflict between Japan and the United States would depend greatly on the naval forces of the two Powers, as their geographical positions make offensive operations on land almost impossible. The United States could never hope to land an army in Japan which would have any

chance even of surviving, while it would be equally impracticable for Japan to attempt to invade America, not only on account of the difficulty of transport and supply, but also because of the superior naval forces which would prevent a landing. If the United States had remained self-contained, her position would have been practically impregnable by an Eastern Power. As, however, already pointed out, the possession of the Philippines alters the whole problem, for while, in a sense, they add to the strength of the United States as an Eastern Power, they make her more liable to attack. In the event of a war with Japan, the struggle would centre round the Philippines, and, looked at from this point of view, Japan would be in the most advantageous position. On the other hand, a struggle in the Philippines might compel Japan to denude Korea and Port Arthur of their defensive forces, and thus cause her to risk her recently acquired predominance in these regions ; but, even taking this into account, the balance of strategic advantage would seem to rest with Japan. America could not by any means compel her to cross the Pacific to defend her interests, whereas she could always compel America to do so, unless the Philippines were to be surrendered without a blow. This, however, is very improbable, and hence would result a long and exhausting struggle which would bring no advantage to either side. We need not attempt to picture the details of that struggle or to forecast its results, but it may safely be asserted that neither side is in a position to feel certain of ultimate success. The points at issue between the two countries are so small, and relatively so unimportant, that they can be easily arranged if reason be allowed to prevail ; while the outbreak of war would not only be disastrous to both sides, but might even involve a world-wide conflict which would reduce civilisation to chaos.

It is impossible to believe that the people of the United States would ever willingly take any action which would lead to such disastrous results. A great deal would depend on the man who was President, for, although the Govern-

ment of the United States is Republican in name, the President has more personal authority than a constitutional monarch such as we have in Britain. This is especially true when he is a strong personality like Mr. Roosevelt, who to external observers seemed to be a wonderful combination of contradictions. On the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of Mr. Carnegie's Bureau of American Republics his speech was an interesting reflex of his complex, if somewhat impulsive, nature. He began with a sounding tribute to international ideals, to the growing solidarity of the American Republics, to the friendly bonds of mutual justice, goodwill, and sympathetic comprehension. He meandered towards the end of his speech through mazes of compliment and platitude to a more concrete and congenial theme—the cruise of the United States battle fleet. He appeared to think that this cruise was a valuable element in the consolidation of a continental peace. If the South Americans saw in it only the force which maintains the Monroe Doctrine, and helps to preserve them from European aggression, it may have had this effect. If they realised that its manœuvres were destined to convince the people of the States of the need of doubling their navy, it may be doubted whether they really felt so comfortable. A Power which aspires to the moral leadership, and in a sense to the guardianship of a continent, is strong only in so far as she is prepared to recognise the supremacy of law. In supporting the Drago doctrines, Mr. Roosevelt strengthened his claims to this position. By every advance towards Old-World militarism he weakened it. The Admiral who was placed in command of the American fleet which proceeded to the Pacific expressed the opinion that, if there were more warships and fewer politicians, the peace of the world would be more secure. This argument is the *reductio ad absurdum* of militarism, and proves the small value of expert military or naval opinion on international problems.

Fortunately the people of the United States have not

altogether lost their traditional mistrust of expensive armaments as a kind of menace to Republican liberty, and the House of Representatives by a vote of 190 to 79 rejected the proposal of the President to build four battleships and to go on steadily increasing the strength of the Navy ; and there can be little doubt that the policy of building up American naval power will be challenged again and again as it proceeds, both by the House of Representatives and by the Senate, which are the reflex of the public opinion in the country. Of course, all who study international affairs will admit the necessity for a navy of considerable strength to support the international position of the United States, all they can hope for is that, between the professional zeal of the American Navy Department and the intelligible reluctance of the representatives of public opinion, the safe middle way may be found along which the United States may travel in confidence, strong enough to be a firm and just steward in the affairs of the world, but not wielding a new and deadly instrument to provoke others. That the desire for arbitration courts for the settlement of international disputes is growing in the United States is evident from the proposals made by Mr. Root, the Secretary of State, for a permanent arbitral Court of Justice. The plan upon which he has been proceeding has been to secure an agreement among the leading nations in fixing a basis for the appointment of judges, and then to leave the smaller countries, whose discord over representation in the Court wrecked the project at the Hague, to come in or not as they pleased. He is convinced that they will give an adhesion out of very shame, if for nothing else, and probably he is right.

Fortunately the good sense of the Governments of the United States and Japan rendered the efforts of the "yellow press" of no avail, and the new understanding¹ which has been come to has placed the friendship of the two countries on a more secure basis than ever. It has been received with the heartiest

The American-
Japanese
understanding.

¹ See p. 86.

congratulations and with almost unanimous approval by the Japanese public and press. The agreement contains nothing new, in fact, nothing that has not been declared at one time or another by both Governments; but they have hitherto lacked a formal and mutual confirmation, and as such they were wanting, to some minds at least, in authority and binding force, while to others they furnished occasions to misrepresent the aim and policy of the two countries, and to indulge in attempts to provoke coolness between them. All this is at an end now, and the effect of the present avowal will be exactly as Ambassador Takahira says in his note, namely, that it "would not only tend to strengthen the relations of friendship and good neighbourhood, which have immemorially existed between Japan and the United States, but would materially contribute to the preservation of the general peace."

The leading American journals express the conviction that the tongues of the mischief-makers are now effectually silenced, and that it is no longer possible for any one to pretend to suspect Japan of aggressive designs upon the Philippines or Hawaii. Special satisfaction is expressed with regard to the article which pledges the high contracting parties to take counsel of each other before undertaking any enterprise for the purpose of preserving the principle of the open door or of China's integrity. This article has an important and direct bearing upon the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, as it ensures that any step taken by Japan in connection with the Alliance, so far as Eastern affairs are concerned, will have the concurrence of the United States.

The French and German press was almost equally congratulatory. The Berlin Government was informed of the intention of concluding such an *entente*, and this was accepted by Germany as a proof of friendly feeling. The German Ambassador in Tokyo said that Germany seeks nothing but free commercial development, and from that point of view she welcomes anything that makes for the principle of the open door and equal opportunities; and he added that

"the Triple Alliance, which she has cemented in Central Europe, has for its main purpose the peaceful pursuit of commerce and industry, and it has hitherto fulfilled that purpose. Germany aims at nothing more."

Most interesting of all is the Russian opinion regarding the understanding, which welcomed it as testimony that Japan sincerely desires peace. Especially the papers of the Opposition pointed out the mistaken view of the Conservative papers, which maintained formerly that Japan had a warlike object, and they also condemned the Russian Government for having pursued a mistaken foreign policy since the conclusion of the Shimonoseki Treaty. The *Retch* said that the understanding between America and Japan guarantees the peace in the Far East as did the *ententes* between Russia, France, and Japan, and that its conclusion transcends the credulity of those who believed that war was inevitable between America and Japan. The fleets of both countries met in the Pacific only to strengthen the friendship between the two nations, and Japan has committed herself to the maintenance of peace, and the American possessions in the Pacific are now in safety, while Japan is in a position to devote her energy to the perfection of the results gained from the Russo-Japanese War.

Some disappointment was expressed that no mention was made of the subject of immigration in the *entente* between the United States and Japan, but that was unnecessary, as there is no longer any point in dispute about that subject. The main object of the *entente* is to emphasise before the world the complete accord that unites the two countries in their policy and intentions bearing on China and the Pacific area generally, and not so much to solve problems outstanding between them. Whether the understanding now in force about immigrants is the most desirable one or not is quite another question. At the present time it is working satisfactorily to both sides, and so long as a voluntary understanding is sufficient it is unnecessary to make a more formal agreement. So long as no artificial

means are employed to encourage immigration little or no difficulty is likely to arise, for if the process is gradual and restricted in amount conditions will adjust themselves.

CANADA

The racial troubles on the Pacific slope very soon had their reflection in Canada. An outbreak against Japanese emigrants took place in British Columbia, which at once raised some very difficult problems not only between the Governments of Canada and Japan, but also between the Home Government and several of the British colonies. The irony of the position in British Columbia was not lessened by the fact, that, while she may be thought to suffer most from the Oriental immigration, she is also bound by her geographical position to be the first province of the Dominion to benefit by the trade advantages of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. The trade between Japan and Canada has, during recent years, been of increasing importance. We need not meantime go into details, but it may be noted that in 1907 the value of the imports from British America to Japan amounted to 1,217,140 yen, and of the exports from Japan to British America to 3,863,657 yen. The most important items in the imports were wheat, flour, salted salmon and trout, paper, lead, guano, and a considerable variety of manufactured articles. Of the exports tea was by far the most important, and next came rice and Japanese textile goods, none of which competed with those produced in Canada.

The racial troubles placed the Dominion Government in a position of extraordinary difficulty, for it had brought the troubles upon itself. In January 1907 the Dominion Government passed an Act "to give the force of law in Canada to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1894." Now the first clause of the treaty in question runs thus: "The subjects of the two high contracting parties shall have full liberty to enter,

Canada and
Japan.

Difficulty
with Japan.

travel, or reside in any part of the dominions and possessions of the other contracting party, and shall enjoy full and complete protection for their persons and property." When objections were raised in the Canadian Parliament to this provision, the Prime Minister treated the whole question as negligible and not worth considering in comparison with the trade advantages to be gained by the Dominion. The difficulty which arose was therefore not of Japan's seeking, but, on the contrary, the responsibility rests entirely with the Canadian Government. Indeed the Japanese Government has a special grievance, as the Dominion Government has been allowed to enjoy the advantages of the British Commercial Treaty of 1894 with Japan only by special favour. The two years' grace granted to British self-governing colonies had long expired when the Canadian Government, impressed by the Japanese victories and development, begged to have the limit of time ignored in their favour. Under these circumstances the Japanese Government had special reason for complaint, when their countrymen, who took advantage of the new arrangement, were submitted to indignity and injury to persons and property. It is, however, only fair to the Dominion Government to point out, that when the treaty was made their position with regard to Japanese emigration had some justification, for up to that time the influx into British Columbia had been very small. They did not anticipate that emigration companies would be formed in Japan which would pour large numbers of their people into the country, and no doubt some of these not the most desirable elements of the population. It should further be noted that these companies evidently carried on their operations with the approval of the employers of labour in British Columbia, who were thereby able to obtain a large supply of workers of all kinds. It is stated, and that with good grounds, that the riots were fomented by Irish-American agitators, who were actuated partly by racial and partly by economic motives. The white workers were afraid that wages and conditions would be very much reduced below

what they had been accustomed to, but they concealed these reasons under the same general objection of racial unsuitability, not only from a physical, but also from a moral and social point of view.

There were, however, other and more thoughtful opponents to Japanese immigration whose conception of Canada was "one great homogeneous people," and that therefore the type of immigrants to be encouraged were such "as would assimilate, marry, and intermarry with the people of Canada." They held that the history of the United States shows that the secret of her success is the fusion of the European races effected through the agencies of education and marriage, and that Canada has more or less effected this fusion of the races in the past, is doing so to a greater extent at the present moment, and will continue to do so in the future. To the Canadian mind, therefore, in view of her national policy, unreasonable unrestricted immigration is an unworkable proposition. The position in British Columbia was further complicated by the fact that the native Indians in that province are more than a quarter of the whole race in the Dominion of Canada, and are, moreover, being more and more employed on the railways and in other capacities, and in places becoming skilled agriculturists. They are, therefore, an economic factor in the development of British Columbia which cannot be overlooked.

The points at issue have been summed up by an authority on Canada as follows: "From the point of view of the internal policy of the Dominion of Canada unrestricted Asiatic immigration threatens the homogeneousness of the race. From the native Indian side of the question, bluntly stated it threatens their future existence. From a capitalist or financial point of view, it rather retards than advances the ultimate development of the province. From a white labourer's point of view, it tends to make him leave his own country to work in the States. From a domestic point of view, it will leave the wealthier classes where they were in the old days before the Canadian Pacific Railway was con-

structed—dependent upon the Oriental. From an economic point of view, it is a loss of wealth to the community at large, because money earned is not circulated or invested in the country, but is sent abroad to India, China, and Japan. British Columbia, although anxious to protect herself from the effects of a measure not as carefully considered as it should have been, is nevertheless anxious to keep on friendly terms with the ally of her king, the friend of Japan.”¹

Fortunately, in the negotiations which took place for the restriction of Japanese immigration the Japanese Government gave another example of the wisdom, reticence, and dignity which are still the astonishment of the world. Fortunately, also, Mr. Lemieux, who was sent to Tokyo as the representative of the Canadian Government to discuss the matter, also possessed the indispensable quality of tact. On his return to Canada he explained that the Japanese Government were not really responsible for the recent influx of immigrants, who had been sent by the very active Japanese emigration companies. No doubt, had the Canadian Government foreseen the immigration difficulties when they accepted the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, they would have asked for assurances on the subject from Japan, and they would have got them. The question was whether Japan should mention the restriction of immigration to Canada in the Treaty, and Count General Nossé, through whom most of the Japanese communications had been conveyed, said: “Immigration will always be restricted voluntarily by Japan, and I do hope very much that Canada will depend on our good faith, and will not try to put any restrictions by right of Treaty.” The Canadian Government trusted this promise, and agreed that no mention of the matter should be made in the Treaty. Mr. Lemieux stated that “no charge of bad faith” could be made against the Japanese Government. They had done their best, and in the future they would do better; but they had to outwit the companies which push emigration as a

Arrangements
between Japan
and Canada.

¹ W. E. Blythe, *The Spectator*, Sept. 28, 1907, p. 429.

commercial enterprise, as well as the ingenious individual Japanese who do not emigrate directly to Canada and the United States, but go by way of Hawaii and Mexico.

At Tokyo Mr. Lemieux received what may be called the most formal undertaking as to immigration ever given by Japan to Canada, and it is signed by Count Hayashi, the Japanese Foreign Minister, and therefore the highest representative of Japan in matters of this kind. The document is as follows: "In reply to your note of to-day, I have the honour to state that, although the existing Treaty between Japan and Canada absolutely guarantees to Japanese subjects full liberty to enter, travel, and reside in any part of the Dominion of Canada, yet it is not the intention of the Imperial Government to insist upon the complete enjoyment of the rights and privileges guaranteed by those stipulations when that would involve disregard of special conditions which may prevail in Canada from time to time. Acting in this spirit, and having particular regard to the circumstances of the recent occurrence in British Columbia, the Imperial Government have decided to take efficient means to restrict emigration to Canada. In carrying out this purpose, the Imperial Government, in pursuance of the policy above stated, will give careful consideration to the local conditions prevailing in Canada with a view to meeting the desires of the Government of the Dominion, as far as is compatible with the spirit of the Treaty and the dignity of the State. Although, as stated in the Note under reply, it was not possible for me to acquiesce in all of the proposals made by you on behalf of the Canadian Government, I trust that you will find the statement herein made a proof of the earnest desire of the Imperial Government to promote by every means within their power the growth and stability of the cordial and mutually beneficial relations which exist between our countries. I venture to believe also that this desirable result will be found to have been materially advanced by the full exchange of views which has taken place between us, and it gives me special pleasure to acknowledge the

obligation under which I have been placed by your frank and considerate explanations regarding the attitude and wishes of your Government."

Count Hayashi declared that Japan was determined to investigate the credentials of those who went to the United States as students. He admitted that the immigration of labourers as students must be embarrassing to the United States. "I may say," he added, "that the rumours which have been circulated to the effect that any important question is pending between Japan and the United States are fabrications originating from a certain section in the United States. Should emigration from Hawaii not be prevented entirely, the Minister for Foreign Affairs will not hesitate to prohibit entirely emigration thither. The Foreign Office intends to prohibit emigration to Mexico. Those desiring to send emigrants to Mexico will be regarded as assisting emigrants to enter the United States through Mexico, and will therefore be treated as law-breakers." Thus both Canada and the United States have agreed with Japan upon principles capable of permanent application if only the present goodwill continues, and in the case of Canada it should be noted with satisfaction that Mr. Lemieux, while explaining the triumph of "the Canadian point of view," did not (like other Colonies at various times) forget the difficulties of the Home Government. He expressly said that the definite exclusion of all Japanese by Canada would be a serious breach of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty—Canada "could not ask the friend and ally of Great Britain to brand its subjects as an inferior race, which they were not." Canada was given freedom to negotiate for herself with Japan, and she certainly handled her responsibility loyally.

Writing on this subject *The Spectator*¹ says: "We notice that Count Hayashi justified his policy to his countrymen by arguing that it was in the commercial interests of Japan as well as of Canada. This is quite true, we believe, because in Manchuria, Korea, and Formosa, as well as at

¹ January 25, 1908.

home, Japan will need all her strength in the coming years of development. A point on the other side, however, worth consideration is that Canada from time to time may actually need Japanese workmen, and we should be sorry to think that districts which are thirsting for unskilled labour, and plenty of it, should deny themselves out of homage to a theory. Under some conditions the exclusion of Japanese would undoubtedly be no more than a theory, and an expensive theory too ; though where white labour is plentiful and the standard of comfort established we must admit that the introduction of Japanese who would lower the standard of comfort is quite another matter. The richer classes may be able to live in the presence of Asiatic immigrants without inconvenience, but the working classes have to live with them on terms of proximity or intimacy, and the collision of different moral and religious codes might mean discomfort at the best and social catastrophe at the worst. As for the more obvious matter of competition in the labour market, we have not, perhaps, justified our Colonists as much as we might have done by imagining the problem reversed. Suppose that Japan were the field of immigration, and the lowest class of casual British workmen poured into it habitually. We imagine that the Japanese would object almost as strongly as the Canadians and Americans have done. The Japanese are accustomed to see only well-to-do and capable Europeans in their country ; but, if it were otherwise, they might have reason to recognise that immigration is not denounced only out of racial prejudice. However that may be, Japan has just acted with the good temper, dignity, and penetration which were a lesson to the world when the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed. Japan is not afraid of herself ; she has a form of wisdom which, we prophesy, will surprise others again and again, but will ultimately serve her well."

Replying recently to a deputation representing the Trades Congress of Canada, Sir Wilfred Laurier stated that the immigration of Hindus and Japanese had practically

ceased. The numbers of Chinese coming in, however, were increasing in spite of the tax of 500 dollars (£100) per head, but these were mostly domestic servants, who were very much wanted in Canada, and therefore not likely to raise any difficulty.

It is very satisfactory to know that recently there was formed in Tokyo a Japan-Canada Society which aims at promoting closer friendly relations with Canada, and becoming an organ for collecting and disseminating information about things Canadian. The first president is Mr. Nossé, who as Consul at Vancouver and Consul-General at Chicago won golden opinions of all that came in contact with him, and whose name as Japan's able representative at the seat of the Federal Government of Canada has latterly become prominent before the world. He is supported by all the leading merchants doing business with Canada, and by other influential men who are interested in that country; and no doubt the Society will be found a most valuable means of keeping the peoples of Japan and Canada well informed with regard to each other, and thus preventing difficulties not only in business affairs, but also in the wider sphere of politics. In a recent speech to the members of the Osaka Chamber of Commerce, Mr. W. T. R. Preston, the Canadian Commercial Agent, said: "The industrial life of Japan and Canada is in no sense competitive. Each country will require some of the manufactures of the other. We want to deal direct with you. Our large traders must get into direct touch with your trade centres. They deal in other countries without the aid of foreign commission agencies, and they will either deal with you as they deal elsewhere, or not at all." He explained that in saying this it was not with any hostility to the foreign commission houses. These are, no doubt, necessary for some foreign traders, but they are of little use to Canadians. He prophesied that there were some in his audience who would see Osaka one of the greatest manufacturing centres in existence, and the Japanese Empire one of the great financial centres of the world. The progress

which has been made in the last twenty years is but faintly indicative of what will be done in the next twenty.

SOUTH AMERICA

The relations of Japan to the countries on the Continent of South America have as yet been very slight, and my object in mentioning that Continent at all is not for the purpose of discussing details regard-
ing any part of it, but rather of indicating some of its bearings on the general questions which will arise regarding the Pacific area.

Relations to
Japan.

South America is still a continent in the making, and a study of its history is well calculated to cause many lessons to sink deep into the minds of Easterners. The cruel, selfish conduct of her first European occupants forms one of the darkest records in the history of the world. Even when the religious motive was present, it was largely overlaid with the desire for conquest and riches, and was often used as a cloak for the most horrible atrocities. The majority of the people at the present day, although speaking Spanish, are an amalgam of European nationalities and native races, and are no more Spanish than the Americans are English, or the Boers Hollanders, and it is doubtful if they would suffer physiologically, intellectually, or morally by a further admixture of Japanese and Chinese. Probably if people of these nationalities were settling in South America and becoming citizens in the full sense of the term, it would soon be difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish them from those of Spanish origin, for climate and environment have a wonderful effect in a comparatively short time of modifying personal appearance, speech, and character.

The climate and physical features of the South American Continent vary as much as those of Japan, so that immigrants from that country would find little difficulty in adapting themselves to the new conditions. Although almost as large in territory as North America, the greater part of South

America lies in the tropics, while North America lies almost wholly within the temperate and Arctic zones. To speak roughly, North America is a cold country and South America a hot country, and in recent centuries at least, however it was with earlier civilisations, extreme heat has been a handicap to progress. To be sure, the vast plains of Argentina, the large sea-coast of Chile, and the table-lands of Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Columbia, Venezuela, and Brazil have a comfortable and equable climate, but the approach to the plateaus of the north is through steaming, miasmatic lowlands which have proved a terrible barrier to civilisation. The physical features of South America are on a more gigantic scale than those of North America. Its mountains as a rule are higher, its rivers broader and deeper, its forests more impenetrable, and all those features have presented obstacles to man which have daunted and delayed, if they have not utterly discouraged, him in the conquest of the country. It has been said that "it is as though this Continent were waiting for a later race of giants who, with scientific and mechanical skill superior to any yet achieved, shall be able to subdue this richest of continents, which yet guards her riches so securely." As the pressure of population increases both in the East and in the West there will be an increasing demand for the occupation of the uninhabited parts of the globe, and the South American Continent offers many opportunities for the settlement of large numbers of the surplus population of other countries. The attempts at this settlement may give rise to international problems of a very serious nature.

The commercial relations of Japan and South America are as yet comparatively insignificant, but they are certain to become more and more important. A small amount of trade is carried on between Japan and Mexico (which commercially and politically, although strictly speaking not geographically, belongs to the South American Continent), Peru, and Chile, and some emigration has taken place to these countries. How far these relations will develop it is of

course impossible to say, but there is a probability that they will become very important as the difficulties which have arisen in North America, Canada, and Australasia are not likely to arise, at least to the same extent, in South America. A short time ago the President of a Japanese Colonisation Society made a tour of observation through South America, and on his return he reported that Brazil welcomes Japanese emigrants. One reason which was given for this was the growing ascendancy of the German people in the land, and the statesmen of Brazil are looking for some force to counteract it. At first they had some confidence in the Italians, who are next in numbers to the Germans, but they soon saw that the Italians could not be relied upon as a counteracting force against the Germans. That being the case it was stated that Brazil is now trying to invite the Japanese to impede the dominance of the German element. The population per square mile in Brazil is only 12.3, while in Japan it stands at 316. The chief work which at present offers is in the cultivation of coffee, and the wage is usually one yen and a half per day, while the cost of living does not exceed thirty sen per day.

At a recent meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, Mr. W. S. Barclay read a paper in which he showed that there was great room for Asiatic emigration in the vacant lands of South America. Speaking from wide and prolonged experience of Central South America acquired as a railway engineer, Mr. Barclay declared that in Brazil indifferent success, if not positive failure, has attended all efforts to promote German, English, Polish, and Italian immigration. The tide of European immigration now sets towards the Argentine Republic, which retains a balance of about 200,000 new settlers annually. But these remain for the most part in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, or push southwards into Patagonia. For the settlement of the lands in the other direction, Mr. Barclay sees no source of supply except the semi-Slav and Asiatic populations overflowing the Near and the Far East. Provided Asiatic immigrants are properly

selected and settled, Mr. Barclay does not think the South American Republics will object to their introduction. Even if it should be necessary to reserve the pampas and savannah regions to native South Americans, there remain enormous forest regions to be opened up. At present no restrictive regulations are in force against Asiatic immigration in the Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, or Paraguay. On the contrary, such immigrants are entering Central South America in constantly increasing numbers, but not in numbers large enough to assist appreciably in developing the extensive regions that as yet are practically void of inhabitants.

It ought, however, to be clearly recognised by the Powers both in the East and in the West, that any attempt to maintain foreign nationalism or political influence on the South American Continent is certain to lead to very serious difficulties. Not only has the solidarity of the various countries in South America been increasing in recent years, but the Monroe Doctrine is no longer a mere pious opinion, it has become almost a fundamental postulate in the constitution of the United States. If France had not evacuated Mexico when the attempt was made to place Maximilian on its throne, there would certainly have been war between it and the United States. Even the interference of Britain in Venezuela led to a very threatening state of affairs, and gave the Monroe Doctrine a force which previously it did not possess. Towards the end of last century, when the new desire of acquiring colonies suddenly seized Europe, rightly or wrongly it was suspected that Germany was intent upon creating a German colony in Southern Brazil. As has been indicated, there is already a considerable German settlement in that part of the Continent, and it is well known that it has acquired much financial and commercial success, and it was therefore argued that Germany could not fail to take advantage of her opportunities. Her internal conditions, the increase of her population, the speeches of her Emperor and her public men, and the articles which appeared in her press, expressing a strong desire to acquire colonies which would be capable of

offering homes to those of her sons who were tempted to cross the seas in search of fortune, all seemed to prove that she would take the first opportunity of seizing any suitable territories, and none seemed more promising than Southern Brazil. The rapid development which is taking place in the German navy served to strengthen this opinion, and no doubt helped to explain why Brazil and other countries in South America, as well as the United States, are increasing their naval power. There can be no doubt that if any Power—European or Asiatic—were attempting to obtain a political settlement on any part of the Continent, the attempt would be resisted by the united forces of America, both North and South. If emigration takes place, it must therefore be on the same conditions as have been insisted upon in the United States of North America, namely, that the emigrants conform to all the laws and customs of the country, and that they (or at least the great majority of them) come with the intention of becoming citizens, or if they have any objections to this, that their children born in the country shall *ipso facto* be subjects, unless arrangements to the contrary are made before they come of age.

The Monroe Doctrine is no longer a somewhat nebulous doctrine contained in certain documents and legal treatises; it embodies the determination of the States of both North and South America, which determination will be enforced with all the military and naval forces at their command. Fortunately these forces are never likely to be brought into action for this purpose, for it is a commonplace of observation that the last ten years or so have witnessed a growing acquiescence in the principle enunciated by that doctrine, and so far as colonisation of any part of South America under a foreign flag is concerned the doctrine that the whole of that continent is a *terra clausa* is now accepted in fact, though not in theory, as an international axiom. How far that axiom requires to have behind it a strong military and naval force only time will show, but it is to be hoped that it will not be used as an excuse for a great development of militarism,

which will burden the peoples of the countries concerned with enormous taxation, but that international arrangements will be made which will render this burden unnecessary.

AUSTRALASIA

The commercial relations of Japan and Australia are now of considerable importance, the value of the trade between the two countries in the year 1907 being 12,612,656 yen, of which 7,818,753 yen were imports into Japan and 4,793,903 yen were exports. Australia now supplies Japan with the greater part of the wool required for her woollen manufactures which are now of considerable dimensions, as well as the raw materials required in a variety of manufactures, as, for example, flax, hemp, animal bones, lard, tallow and grease, lead (pig, ingot, and slab), hides and skins, phosphate manures, and a great many others of less importance. It also sends a considerable quantity of food materials, especially flour and other similar products. The exports from Japan to Australia are of a very varied nature, and consist, for the most part, of Japanese natural products and manufactured goods, which do not compete much, if at all, with those imported from Great Britain, and the trade is of great advantage to both countries. The Japanese Government has recognised its importance, and a line of steamers is run by the Nippon Yusen Kaisha in order more fully to develop it. The special point to be noted in connection with this subject is that Japan is rapidly taking, in the Pacific area, the manufacturing position which Great Britain formerly occupied for the whole world.

The number of Japanese who have emigrated to Australia is still small, being only a little over 3000, and in recent years it has somewhat decreased. Some of them are engaged in commerce, and a considerable number are employed in the pearl fisheries of the northern coast. It is evident that they are not sufficiently numerous to affect the labour situation, and, if Japan were

Commercial
relations with
Japan.

Labour and
racial conditions.

alone concerned, there would in all probability be no question regarding immigration, but the Japanese form only a small part of the Asiatic population in Australia. There are about 30,000 Chinese, 10,000 Asiatics who are British subjects, and nearly 3000 more who are not British subjects.

The question of coloured immigration into Australia is by no means new, for as far back as 1841 we find that it was exciting considerable interest, but it did not have much importance until after the discovery of gold, when many Chinese entered the Colonies and incurred the deep aversion of the miners, especially in the alluvial camps in Victoria, Queensland, and New South Wales. We need not follow the various attempts at legislative enactment, it is sufficient for our present purpose to note that the Australian Constitution Act gives the Australian Parliament power to make laws on immigration and emigration, and the educational and financial conditions already enacted are sufficient to prevent large numbers of Asiatics from entering Australia. The Act makes the education test as follows: "Any person who fails to pass the dictation test—that is to say, who, when an officer dictates to him not less than fifty words in any prescribed language, fails to write them out in that language." The various Colonies make rather heavy money exactions. An Australian writer has said: "Our Aliens Restriction Act is doing its work well, as time will prove, and in a generation what slight trace of colour is to be seen in Australia at present will be swallowed up by the white flood we expect to attract from Europe as our conditions become more and more favourable." He goes on to say: "Our objections to the coloured races are economic, racial, and moral. We find that the man of colour is not wanted here for his virtues, but simply because he can be used as a lever to lower the standard of wages and comfort; and hence we object to him on economic grounds; we object to him on racial grounds because the mixture of white and black, or of white and brown, does not tend to the bringing into the world of a type better than either parent, but has a contrary effect, the type being lower. We consider

that, at the present stage of development of the human race, the white is first and stands for the highest ideals, and that as far as in us lies we are going to do what we can to keep the race pure. We object to him on moral grounds, as he comes here generally unaccompanied by women folk—and all know what that means. Crime is more rampant among the coloured people than among the whites they live among; I mean the more serious crimes, in addition to the lighter crimes.” Some of these statements are likely to be disputed, but they must be taken as representing the average Australian view, and, as Australia is the most democratic part of the world, there can be no doubt that if any attempt were made to force conditions on its people to which they object, it would lead to a very serious state of affairs. The Labour Party is very influential in the country, and there has been a considerable amount of legislation for the protection of the interests of the workers, who would resist any proposals which in any way tended to counteract the effect of that legislation.

It is of course evident that, if the millions of China and India were allowed to flow freely into Australia, the white population would soon be swamped. Even with very moderate numbers, unless great precautions are taken, grave economic and social difficulties would arise. At the same time a small white population cannot be allowed to monopolise a large continent, a considerable part of which, for climatic reasons, they will never be able to inhabit. Australia approaches, in territorial extent, the mainland of the United States, though the proportion of arable land is much smaller than America. Of the two countries it is relatively the warmer, having more than one-third of its area within the torrid zone. Probably over half of its area will never be profitably habitable by a white population. It must, however, be remembered that a country of no great value for agriculture or grazing sometimes contains great mineral wealth. The richest gold mines of the Commonwealth are nearly four hundred miles from a constant water-

supply, so that it is evident that other than climatic conditions affect the increase of the population.

The question of Asiatic emigration into Australia is therefore very complicated and it has received great attention from politicians and labour leaders, and a White Australia retains the first place in the labour platform. So far as Japan is concerned, however, no serious difficulties of any kind need arise, as the Japanese Government has announced its determination to restrict the number of Japanese immigrants to any country to such an extent that they will not upset the prevailing economic and social conditions, and it is to be hoped that no narrow racial or economic reasons will be allowed to prevent a common-sense and friendly understanding being arrived at. At the same time, as a well-informed Australian writer¹ has pointed out, the present policy is not only unjust on moral grounds, it breeds a positive physical danger. "If Australia cannot induce white people to settle in her tropical country, she must allow coloured races entrance. If she continues to refuse that entrance, it is obviously only a matter of time before she will have to defend that refusal with force." The problems involved not only concern Australia but also require the careful attention of the Imperial Government.

Australians who have had any commercial relations with Japan, and especially those who have resided in that country for some time and have seen the wonderful developments which have taken place in recent years, entertain a very deep conviction that the Japanese are destined to become the dominant race in the Pacific, and they even speculate that their future domains will extend to the northern shores of the Commonwealth. Their great military and naval development, and their marvellous successes in the war with Russia, have caused an uneasy feeling among Australians as to the possibilities of the future. Moreover, while no serious difficulties regarding Japanese immigration are likely to arise, there looms ahead the larger

Defence of
Australasia.

¹ F. M. Cutlack, *The Empire Review*, May 1909.

question of the same kind with China, and in addition there is uncertainty with regard to the aims and ambitions of Germany. Commercial and industrial development and what we are pleased to call Western civilisation as applied to Eastern countries, now threatens to react on Australia, one of the children of the West, and to load it with the burden of militarism which is sucking the life-blood of European countries.

For some time past Australia has been making tentative experiments in the way of the military training of its people and it has made a beginning with a navy of its own; but now a great scheme of universal compulsory military service is proposed on lines somewhat similar to that of Switzerland, so that attacks may be resisted from whatever quarter they may come. The proposal does not amount to conscription as understood on the Continent of Europe, because it does not interfere with working hours, the hours fixed for military service being outside ordinary working hours. It is stated that there are 800,000 Australians of military age, and that 27,000 males physically fit reach the age of 18 every year. In eight years the new system is expected to supply 214,000 men, fairly trained, physically fit for war, properly equipped and organised in self-contained brigades for use as a field force, or in similarly complete units for garrison defence at important localities. Arrangements are also being made for the creation of a small-arms factory and a cordite factory, and it is intended to make Australia self-contained so far as rifles and ammunition are concerned.

Somewhat elaborate proposals are being made for an Australian navy, but, unless care be taken, any attempt at individualism on the part of the British Colonies may lead to a very large expenditure on what may be practically competing navies. For some time past the settled policy of the British Admiralty has been to concentrate our naval forces on a few bases, and no longer to scatter small squadrons over all the oceans. Since the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was entered into, our battleships have been withdrawn from the

Pacific and replaced by a force of fast cruisers under the command of the Admiral at Hong-Kong. Not only is Japan our ally, but the United States are our very good friends. Russia is practically extinct as a naval Power, and other European nations have only a very few warships in the Far East. Consequently the Admiralty holds that our interests in the Pacific are now adequately protected against all likely dangers by a comparatively modest force. In Australia, as in this country and on the Continent of Europe, the military and naval "experts" write to the press as if the maintenance of large military and naval forces was the chief end of nations. Some of them in the journal *Call*, which is the organ of the Australian National Defence League, say that the idea of leaning on America as well as on Britain is disgraceful and dangerous, and implore Australia to provide for its own defence by the construction of a local squadron independent of the Imperial Navy. To be of any use at all, Australia would have to maintain a navy equal to Japan's, and Canada a navy equal to the United States', which would involve a very large expenditure, and which would soon require to be repeated, as the fleets would not be of service for many years to come. It is evident that, unless a firm and wise statesmanship guides the policies of the nations of the Pacific area, the future is black indeed, and threatens all the evils of the militarism of Europe. If China follows the example of the others, with her immense population and resources, her army and navy may be made as large as those of all the other nations of the world put together, and, led by the experience and intelligence of Japan, the possibilities of the future are beyond imagination. If, on the other side of the Pacific, the United States of America, Canada, and the countries of South America feel themselves compelled to arm against possible dangers from the East, even the resources of those countries may be taxed by the burden which will be laid upon them.

THE FUTURE OF THE PACIFIC AREA

The greater part of the military and naval expenditure in the Pacific area would be rendered unnecessary if justice and common sense were allowed to prevail in the councils of the nations concerned. The military and naval power of Japan has been developed, not because of the aggressive intentions of the Japanese, but simply as a means of self-preservation. There can be little doubt that if she had not taken advantage of Western methods and science to make herself strong enough to ward off aggression, and, if necessary, to strike her intending adversaries, she would before this have fallen under the domination of a Western Power, probably Russia, who thought it was her destiny to be all-powerful on the Pacific. This would have involved the control, if not the actual government, by her, not only of Korea but of Japan and probably also of China. The rise of Japan, and her splendid victories in the war with Russia, have for ever made the realisation of that dream impossible, and it is to be hoped that in future Russia will concentrate her efforts on the development of her immense natural resources and the amelioration of the conditions of her people. Forces are being generated within that great Empire which will restrain the ambitions of her autocratic and bureaucratic rulers. The people of Russia are now awakening to a sense of their rights, and we may assume that they will demand them in a manner which will show that autocratic power is doomed. At the same time they will recognise the rights of other countries, and seek to live in friendly co-operation with them.

If the provisions of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance were extended to include the United States of America, there would be no need for any further development of military and naval power on the Pacific area. The combined forces and influence of Great Britain, the United States, and Japan would be sufficient to

Growth of
Japanese power.

Extension of
Anglo-Japanese
Alliance.

guarantee the peace of the Far East, as no Power or possible combination of Powers would in the face of that Alliance dare to break it. In order to show that they had no selfish ends in view, the three Powers above named should invite the other European Powers interested in the Far East as well as China to add their quota of ships to the combined fleet, which would thus become a striking illustration of the solidarity of the East and the West. If all aggressive territorial ambitions were laid aside and every opportunity given for peaceful commercial intercourse, very few difficulties would arise, and those which did could be decided by a representative body such as the Hague Conference, or a section of it, in a manner which we will consider a little farther on. The recent treaties which have been made are all in the direction indicated, and seem to mark the beginning of an international understanding which will make war in the Pacific area impossible.

It will no doubt be objected to these proposals that if they were carried out they would prevent the national evolution of the countries concerned, and stereotype conditions which in time would become absurd from an economic and a political point of view.

Fear of Japan
not justified.

This fear, however, is groundless, as a wider and much more intelligent idea of nationality is being formed in every country in the world, as well as a much more liberal idea of international duties and rights, and these are certain to bring about a rational evolution and at the same time prevent a cataclysmic change which might end in chaos or despotism.

That such a change might be brought about by the action of Japan is an opinion which has been expressed by various writers and speakers, but there is nothing in the past history of the Japanese to justify such a fear. On the general subject of the policy of Japan, I cannot do better than quote from a recent letter of Bishop Awdry of Tokyo to the *Times*, in which he says:—

“During the last two or three years inquisitive persons have been busy with the questions whether the Japanese

might not go to war with America or invade Australia or covet the Philippine Islands.

"A few words from some one who has lived in Japan may be useful in helping to remove misapprehensions.

"I may say at the outset that, while in the Western newspapers there have been rumours of such things, which, of course, were reproduced more or less in Japanese newspapers, we in Japan have never had the slightest fear of a disturbance of the public peace from any of these causes.

"As regards the American question, the Japanese Government has been so perfectly steady, has distinguished so clearly throughout between the local labour troubles of the west coast and the unmistakable attitude of President Roosevelt and his Government, that I should really have thought it quite needless to say anything, had I not personally met with the Governor of the Bank of England, who was seriously anxious and full of questions on the subject. When this was the case, it is obvious that such rumours of wars must have had some financial influence detrimental to Japan and indirectly to the world. The one thing about which Japan cares in this matter, so far as I can see, is not that the Japanese should be able to go and settle in America—indeed, it would be much better for Japan that they should settle elsewhere—but simply that the Japanese should not be differentiated against, as a nation on a lower level than other nations of the world. If their exclusion rests on principles applicable to all other nations, or if Japan is recognised as entirely at liberty to do exactly the same to America, England, or any other nation as is done to her, no dangerous situation would arise. Suffice it to say that though there are, of course, some hotbloods in Japan as elsewhere, there never has been even an infinitesimal war party on the subject. One reads the anxieties of the Yellow Press in the West with nothing but amusement.

"Still more absolute has been the calm of the Japanese mind on the subject of Australia. Not a ripple has appeared to disturb it. Whence, then, come the forebodings, that

certainly Japan does want Australia, which have appeared largely in the Australian papers and have been echoed to some extent elsewhere? I think the answer is more or less complex. The Japanese are a rapidly increasing nation with an island empire; the Australians are a small white people, less than two to the square mile of the land which they occupy, not rapidly increasing, but bent on keeping to themselves a whole continent, of which a large part cannot be turned to account with white labour. Now recent wars in the East have not infrequently been made on the theory, which may be right or wrong, that even a densely-peopled country like China has no right to exclude altogether those who would still further develop its resources in a progressive manner. *A fortiori*, advancing nations cannot be excluded from the countries of barbarous tribes, where the wealth of the world is quite undeveloped, and Maori or North American Indian races cannot claim all that as nomads they might like to spread over in the districts where they live. Still more plain is it that, if vast tracts of land are almost wholly unoccupied, the people that occupy other districts of the same country cannot claim to keep them so. So far as I can see, the rumours of Japanese designs on Australia rest on absolutely nothing but the rather uneasy consciences of those who are keeping them out of lands which they cannot use themselves. In Japan itself there is not a thought upon the subject, but no doubt it is desirable, if the Australians wish to keep Australia to themselves, that they should be as quick as they can in making it useful to the world. Lands cannot remain unoccupied for ever when many nations are requiring an outlet for their surplus population. The Australian conscience will be comforted and their fears allayed when they are using their continent in such a way as to be entitled to say that it is to the good of the world that it should be left to them.

“There has, of course, been more talk in regard to the Philippines, which has originated chiefly, it would seem, from the party in America that is opposed to annexation

of anything beyond the continent of America, or at most the continent and its adjacent islands. Here again I have never met with any expression of desire on the part of the Japanese for the possession of the Philippines. That has been a matter of the imagination, but under certain circumstances it is obviously more likely to arise than any desire for Australia. I feel quite sure that at least for many years to come the Japanese sincerely hope that America will keep tight hold of the islands. The financial situation is not such as to lead Japan to desire fresh burdens and responsibilities. What with railway nationalisation at home and developments in Korea and Manchuria, there is enough to do to last for a good many years. Yet I suppose that, if America would give up the islands, Japan would rather take the burden than see any European Power established there which might hereafter be hostile and would involve the necessity of a great increase in the Japanese fleet for the protection of its interests in the Pacific. I write this, not as having any special political knowledge, but simply from the point of view of common sense, coupled with the perfect quiescence of public opinion in Japan on all these matters, so far as a foreigner living in that country can judge. I think that a good deal of harm has probably been unjustly done to Japanese interests, especially in financial matters, by the constant recurrence in the newspapers of the West of these subjects, which are regarded as smoke indicating that there must be fire to account for it.

“In conclusion, I would suggest to those who are making difficulties for Japan that there is a very great danger ahead if the policy of exclusiveness is carried far enough really to stir the nation. With Japan already powerful and China likely rapidly to become so, those who insist on a policy of mutual exclusion, whether on the ground of race or otherwise—Australia for the Australians, America for the white races, and the like—are certain to make effective the cry of ‘The Far East for the Far Easterns,’ and as the Far Eastern nations advance, and develop the resources of their own

countries, the old idea that 'we white men may penetrate you, but you may not penetrate us,' will be too palpably immoral to be tolerated."

The visit of the American Fleet to Australian waters was a brilliant success from every point of view, and caused unrestrained satisfaction throughout the British Empire, without giving the faintest umbrage to the Japanese. The suggestion that the warmth of the reception indicated a wish for political connection with the United States on the part of Australia, never entered the heads of any who took part in it, and was evidently the creation of the not very reputable sections of the press. The friendly reference which President Roosevelt made to our allies, namely, that "the people of the United States held Japan in peculiar feelings of regard and friendship" was fully reciprocated by the great demonstration of international peace and goodwill on the arrival of the American fleet in Japanese waters. The most notable men of the Japanese Empire seized the occasion to indite messages full of eloquence, assuring the American nation of the desire of Japan to preserve and further cultivate the historical friendship of the two countries, while the correspondents of American newspapers seemed to exhaust their vocabulary of superlatives in praise of the Japanese welcome. The Emperor of Japan, in reply to a telegraphic message from President Roosevelt, at a reception to the Admiral in command of the American fleet, said: "It affords me special pleasure to welcome you as the representative of the American navy, and to receive through you from your respected President his very friendly message. I request you to assure the President that I most sincerely appreciate, and most cordially reciprocate, his sentiments of friendship and goodwill. It is a source of profound satisfaction to me that the most cordial relations of regard and good correspondence exist between Japan and the United States, and my thanks are due to the President for affording my subjects by your visit an opportunity to give proof of their sincere attachment for your countrymen. I also wish you to convey to the

President this message. The historic relations of good understanding and genuine friendship with the United States I count as a valued heritage of my reign, and it shall be in future, as it has been in the past, my constant aim and desire to weld the ties of amity uniting the two countries into indissoluble bonds of good neighbourhood and perfect accord. We trust that the same success which has so far attended your voyage may still be with you to the end." These words may be taken as representing the wishes of the Japanese people. In writing of the new treaty, *The Japan Times* (a journal printed in English, but conducted by Japanese) said: "At present there are no questions between America and Japan which may be referred to international arbitration, nor does it seem that in the future there will come up many questions between the two countries which may call in use the Treaty. The conclusion of such a Treaty which is meant for the maintenance of peace, however, cannot fail to solidify the historical relations between America and Japan. Indeed, the Treaty will put an end to the war-scare which is too apt to cast a gloomy light upon the friendly relations between the two countries."

It would serve no good purpose to speculate on the ultimate political arrangements in the Pacific area, but two main lines of evolution which seem natural may be indicated. A federation between Great Britain, Japan, and the United States would safeguard the interests of the whole of the American continents—North and South—and of Australasia, while another between Japan and China would serve a similar purpose in the Far East. This would not necessarily mean a strict line of division between the East and the West, or the exclusion of the other countries of the West from a participation in the trade of the countries in the Pacific area. East and West would be united in the manner indicated; but many questions of an economic and racial nature would arise in which their opinions would require to be expressed in a more or less collective form, according as the subjects

Lines of
evolution.

were looked at from the point of view of the East or the West. The alliance of Japan with Great Britain and the United States would connect in a friendly way the interests of the East and the West, and would render unnecessary the indefinite increase of armaments in the Pacific area. A comparatively small international force, composed of representatives of all the chief Powers interested in the Pacific area, would be all that was necessary to police the waters of the Pacific, and to carry out the decisions which were arrived at by international agreement. The amount of interference in the internal affairs of the various countries concerned should be the smallest possible, as they must to a great extent be left to work out their own political and social salvation. The precepts and examples of the great nations, not their military and naval forces, should be the motive power behind those in a more backward condition.

It may be thought that the ultimate destiny of North and South America and Australasia is to form by themselves a great federation, leaving Great Britain and Europe out of account, but this would be a great misfortune. Not only from an economic but much more from an intellectual and spiritual point of view is intercourse and co-operation necessary between the Old and New Worlds, as well as between what are usually called the East and the West.

As conditions evolve, the economic position of the European and American outposts in the Pacific area will change, and their future will depend more on that position than on any other consideration. For many generations they may remain points of contact of the West with the Far East, but only on condition that their responsible governments recognise their place in the evolution which is going on, and allow them to become integral parts of the organism which is being evolved.

CHAPTER VII

JAPAN AND THE WEST

ALTHOUGH the influence of Japan has been, and will in the future be most distinctly felt in the countries bounded by the Pacific area, it will extend to a greater or less degree to the other countries in the East, and, indeed, either directly or indirectly to all the countries of the world. We shall notice some of the more important phases of influence in countries other than those bounded by the Pacific area, and which may be included in the comprehensive term "West of Japan." In endeavouring to estimate the lessons to be learned from that country, attention must be paid to many factors which are too often overlooked by ardent patriots or superficial writers, and whose ideas if put too quickly into practical operation would lead to confusion, if not to disaster.

We have seen that China is not likely, in the future, to sit quiet and listen to schemes for her partition or even to the settlement of spheres of influence of Foreign Powers, at least without her consent. She is awakening to a sense of her power, and guided and, if necessary, supported by Japan, she will use her strength to maintain her independence. India is in a state of considerable unrest, partly, no doubt, produced by internal conditions, but at least to some extent by the exploits of Japan in the fields both of industry and of war. A danger will arise, however, if an attempt be made prematurely to follow the example of Japan before conditions are ripe. Siam is an interesting country from an

ethnological and religious point of view and its people have some characteristics common with the Japanese. Japanese influence in Siam has been developing in recent years in several ways, and the trade between the two countries has been increasing. The present King of Siam and some of his relatives have had a European education and they have many connections with Europe, therefore Western influence comes, for the most part, direct and not through Japan, so that meantime we need not enter into details regarding Siam. Its political position was for years very difficult, as it seemed as if France had decided that the land should be hers, while Britain on the contrary was definitely pledged to the maintenance of Siamese autonomy and integrity. The recent annexation of territory to the British Empire is one of those incidents which raise the suspicions and the jealousy of other Powers. It is to be hoped, however, that the good understanding which now exists between Great Britain and France will allow the free development of a very interesting people, as the result might be an object-lesson which would be of great value to the civilisation of the East. In other countries the influence of Japan can be traced in some of the movements which have been started and in the developments which have taken place, some of which we will notice further on.

It would probably be assuming too much to say that all the treaties, agreements, and *ententes* between the European Powers on matters of common interest, which have recently been entered into, are due to the influence of Japan, but no one who studies politics can deny that in some cases they are the direct consequences of the treaties made by that country, and that they are all in the direction of greater solidarity among the nations and in the interests of peace.

JAPAN AND INDIA

In no part of the world was the issue of the great struggle between Japan and Russia in 1904-5 watched with greater

interest than in British India. Educated India joined with the other parts of the Empire in wishing success to Japan ; but the war presented itself to the Indian mind in a different aspect from that which appealed to the British. To the people of India it was primarily a struggle between Asia and Europe, and not a few of the more active among them were not slow to extract lessons which they wished to apply, in all haste, to their own country, and this, no doubt, to a considerable extent accounts for the unrest in India of which we have heard so much recently. The people of Britain have not yet recognised the importance of the results of that struggle in the Indian Empire. An ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal has said : " We are so convinced of the material benefits which our intervention has secured to the people of India that we resent—can indeed hardly realise—the idea that we can appear in any light but that of benefactors. Yet our domination in India runs counter to one of the fundamental sentiments of human nature, which, while deferring to such practical considerations as self-interest, will permanently yield only to custom and habitude. We brought relief from gross oppression, and were welcomed on our arrival ; the memory of the oppression fades, but the figure of the English official becomes gradually accepted as of the order of nature. The triumph of Asia, in the victory of Japan, fiercely disturbed this settlement of ideas ; and it is a curious proof of our lack of imagination that the effect of Mukden, Port Arthur, and Tsu-Shima has been so scantily realised. Under the reflection of these glories India burned to assert herself."¹ These words, coming from such a man as the writer, are sufficient justification for an attempt to indicate the nature of the influence of Japan on India, and some of the lessons which India may learn from the Britain of the East.

It is not usual to look upon India as a Western country, but it is certainly west of Japan. Moreover, it is governed

¹ Sir B. Fuller, *Nineteenth Century*, July 1908, p. 24.

by a Western Power, so that it may be looked upon as intermediate between East and West, not only as regards geographical position but also political conditions. Of course all diplomatic and political business affecting the relations between Japan and India is conducted between Tokyo and London, but not infrequently Japanese Commissioners are sent to India to collect information on special points, so that official arrangements may be made after adequate knowledge has been obtained. On the other hand, the officials of the British Embassy in Tokyo, as well as the members of the British Consular Service, send reports to London on all matters affecting the two countries, while Japanese officials in Britain are equally active in keeping their Government informed regarding matters of interest to them.

In endeavouring to apply to India the lessons to be learned from the experience of Japan, we must not overlook the great differences between the two countries and their inhabitants which have been brought about by many generations of differences of Points of difference between Japan and India. local conditions and of religious thought. Race, climate, and religion have all helped to give the Japanese a large share of Anglo-Saxon virility, while, however, allowing them to retain many Eastern characteristics. In a previous chapter¹ we have noted some of the more important factors which have gone to the making of the Japanese mind and character, and the result has been the formation of a type very different from the average Eastern. In comparing Japan and India, it must therefore always be remembered that the Japanese are *not* Indians.

The fundamental difference between Japan and India, looked at from a national or international point of view, is that the former is peopled by a homogeneous race (with small exceptions), whereas in the latter there are many races all differing very much, not only in physical qualities, but also much more in mental and moral qualities, and with very

¹ Page 95.

varied ideals of national organisation and administration. The success of Japan, as has already been pointed out, has in great part been due to the fact that the "soul of the people" acts unitedly for national purposes, and that, for the attainment of these, all individual and sectional interests are put aside. The difficulty of united action in India is increased by the caste system, which divides the people into sections. Under the feudal system in Japan four distinct classes were recognised, namely, the samurai (fighting men), the agriculturalists, the artisans, and the merchants; but the distinction between them was never so marked as in the caste system of India, and under the conditions which now exist it has almost disappeared. There are, of course, official ranks and social grades as in other countries, but a man's position in Japan now depends much more on himself than on what his father was before him. The same tendency prevails to a certain extent in India, but the barriers of caste and custom will have to be broken down to a much greater degree before there is a possibility of much personal or national development. Like many other systems, the caste system in India is a good idea carried to an extreme, and a careful study of it would show some features which are not unworthy of imitation. Some of the people of the West, who regard it with amused wonder and supercilious criticism as an absurd, unhealthy social phenomenon, should look at some of their own social distinctions, which have many of the bad features of the Indian caste system, and none of its good ones.¹

It must also be remembered that the political conditions in Japan and India are very different. The former is an independent country, while the greater part of the latter is directly under the dominion of the British Crown, and the remainder under the suzerainty of that Crown. It is no reply to say that the way to get rid of this distinction is to do away with this dominion and suzerainty and allow the

¹ Cf. "Caste in India" in Oman's *Brahmans, Theists, and Muslims of India*, chap. ii.

peoples of India to govern themselves. Even the most ardent pro-Indians admit that this is not within the range of practical politics, as they recognise that if it were attempted the result would be chaos, which would lead to the intervention of another European Power whose despotism would be much harsher than anything which was possible under British rule. If India is to be dominated by a Foreign Power at all, there is no difference of opinion that Britain is to be preferred to any other Power.

Even the extremists of Young Bengal only demand that India should have the status of a self-governing colony, but they cannot be aware of the grave peril involved in such a false analogy. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are virtually independent nations of one creed and colour, attached to the Empire by ties which are hardly more than sentimental and for external defence no less than for internal administration; they have to make their own provision, although in the last resort they would fall back on the British army and navy, especially the latter. As we have seen, however, efforts are being made to render them as far as possible independent even of these. What would be the result if a similar degree of independence were enjoyed by India? "Occupied by scores of discordant races, and exposed to the designs of rapacious neighbours, they would be compelled to raise an enormous revenue for the maintenance of domestic tranquillity and for national defence. The Imperial Government, losing its interest in the country, would be unwilling to make adequate exertions for the protection of India, and it might even become a question whether in such altered circumstances it would be worth while to do so; but so long as the guardianship of Britain holds good, so long she must continue to perform her task to the best of her moral and material resources."¹

While the conditions of Japan and India differ in many essential points, there are others in which, like other Eastern countries, they agree, notably in their tendency to collectivist

¹ H. G. Keene, *Nineteenth Century*, June 1908, p. 1030.

action, or socialism of a kind. The administrative experiments are full of instruction for other parts of the Empire ; but in many cases they are rendered obscure by a special and technical phraseology understood only by Anglo-Indians. In the first place, the land was nationalised, in that the State retained the right to the economic rent. The proportion has varied from 90 per cent in 1812 to 50 per cent at the present day. From land and the forests the State raises 20 out of its 48 millions of revenue. Another $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions are raised by the State trading in opium, and a further $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions are derived from State railways. Agriculture is the staple industry of India, and by loans to agriculturists and by irrigation, the State deliberately fosters production. As for unemployment, what is called "famine" is really unemployment in the industry of agriculture. To relieve this the Government lays its plans in advance, and is ready when the need comes. The limit of relief is the necessities of the people, subject to the condition that the people must not be pauperised ; and that this is achieved is shown by the fact that those receiving famine relief at once return to their former work when rain falls and unemployment ceases. The policy of the Government of India is a mixture of caution and wisdom directed by no definite theory but, nevertheless, resulting in a collectivist organisation of the State, and in this respect, like Japan, it may afford a few useful lessons either for instruction or for warning to the Governments of the West.

The revised Anglo-Japanese Agreement (August 1905) had for one of its objects "the maintenance of the territorial rights of the high contracting parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions." By Article I, "It is agreed that, whenever in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble to this Agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common

The Anglo-
Japanese Alliance
and India.

the measures which should be taken to safeguard these menaced rights or interests." With regard to India it is stipulated by Article IV that, "Great Britain having a special interest in all that concerns the security of the Indian frontier, Japan recognises her right to take such measures in the proximity of that frontier as she may find necessary for safeguarding her Indian possessions." Article VII states that, "The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present Agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by naval and military authorities of the contracting parties, who will, from time to time, consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest."

These terms were agreed to when the war between Japan and Russia was still being carried on, and Great Britain undertook to continue to maintain strict neutrality unless some other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against Japan, in which case Great Britain would come to the assistance of Japan and conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with Japan. There can be no doubt that the reference to the maintenance of the territorial rights of the high contracting parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India was made chiefly in view of the possibility of an attack on India by Russia, in which case Japan would take part in the struggle on the side of Britain in such a manner as might be arranged by the naval and military authorities of the contracting parties, who, should such an occasion ever arise, would from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest. This part of the agreement raises many important problems on the various aspects of which much might be said, but it is sincerely to be hoped that it will never require to be put into operation. Recent events and the improved relations between the countries concerned strengthen this hope. In any case, too much power should not be given to the military and naval experts, who are apt

to look at political problems too much from their own point of view.

It is in the matter of education that India has most to learn from Japan. In the first place, however, it should be noted that Japan is indebted to India for one very important factor in its civilisation, namely, its Buddhism. As we have seen, this in combination with Shintoism and Confucianism produced the Japanese mind or soul, and now Japan is paying back its debt to India. The records of its progress in the arts both of peace and of war, and especially of its brilliant victories in the recent struggle with Russia, were eagerly read by many of the younger men in India, and they raised the aspiration in their minds that India might be able to follow the example of Japan. Japanese newspapers and journals convey to Indians some idea of the thoughts of the Japanese with regard to education, industry, and commerce, and national affairs generally; and in this way Japan is exercising considerable influence on the Indian mind.

During recent years considerable numbers of Indian students have proceeded to Japan to carry on their studies in the schools and colleges of that country, and these will be trained both theoretically and practically in the departments which they have selected; and, when they return to India, they are certain to be imbued with many of the aspirations and ambitions of the Japanese in all that affects national affairs and international relations.

It is now felt by all who have studied the subject that a great mistake was made in educational affairs in India when Lord Macaulay's ideas were carried out in opposition to those of Hastings, Wellesley, Sir William Jones, Elphinston, and Duff. Macaulay proceeded on the assumption that Oriental literature and knowledge was based upon trivial and childish and out-of-date doctrines, and he introduced what were practically copies of the curricula of English schools and colleges into India. No doubt, some of the Orientals

went to the other extreme, but they were right when they insisted upon the principle that knowledge and culture could be transmitted with advantage only if founded on a national basis, although they were too narrow in their outlook when they argued that the mother-tongue and the national literature were the direct (if not the only) means of inculcating the desired knowledge. Macaulay's extreme position still holds the field. In varying degrees in the different educational centres the Indian pupil is treated as if he were an Englishman, in that his own environment is largely ignored, and all that is truly Oriental in his life is left uninterpreted and undeveloped. And, when religion and all its old traditions and history are neglected in his curriculum, the pupil not unnaturally receives the impression that they are unimportant and despised. Thus students are freed from the religious and social restraints of old India, and in Sir William Hunter's words are left "without discipline, without contentment, and without God." It is by no accident that the classes thus educated have proved the happy hunting-ground for anti-British agitators. This policy may be fitted to create recruits for Government clerkships, but it cannot succeed in creating good Indian citizens. In Ceylon, where the Anglicising policy is carried to an extreme, many students pass through the whole college course, and, at the end, though adepts in Latin, and possibly Greek, cannot write to their parents in their own tongue nor read letters sent to them. They are divorced from their own people. A conference of missionaries recently held in Ceylon summed up the results of present college education in these words: "A college education divorces a young man from his own language, national traditions, and sympathy with his own people, and, therefore, greatly weakens his power for good among the race to which he belongs. . . . We recognise the fact, also, that our better educated Christians are so Westernised by their education that they hold the Christian faith too far apart from all mental comparison or contrast of its tenets with their old non-Christian faiths, and so are weak

both for defence and for convincing those whom they ought to influence for Christ.”¹

What has been done in Japan in the department of education has demonstrated that an education which is Eastern and yet Western is possible. Nine-tenths of the new ideas that have created New Japan have come in through the English language, and in addition, French, German, and other Western languages are taught to special students, so that, among the educated classes in Japan, not a few know one or more foreign languages. But with it all, they do not neglect the Japanese language and literature, nor Chinese so far as it is necessary for ordinary purposes, and the students remain Japanese in mind. A great part of the higher instruction is now given by Japanese professors and teachers in the Japanese language, and almost all the ordinary text-books have been translated into that language. Most important of all, the students have impressed upon them their duties to the Emperor and their country, and they are fired with the ambition of making their country great among the nations of the world. In India, with a training which is almost entirely literary and directed chiefly to personal ends, the most important being a comfortable billet under the Government, education is only calculated to turn out hide-bound officials or discontented persons who not infrequently become political agitators or writers in the scurrilous newspapers. This is now recognised by all who take any interest in the subject. For instance, in a recent debate in the House of Lords, Lord Curzon said: “Among the foremost of the causes of the present discontent was the education we have given to the people of India, which, however admirably suited for a country with centuries of civilisation behind it, was profoundly ill-adapted to a country where the traditions and social customs and the state of intellectual evolution was what it was in India. It had taught the people the catch-words of Western civilisation without inspiring them with its spirit or inculcating its

¹ A. G. Fraser, *The East and the West*, January 1908, p. 32.

sobriety. It had sharpened their intellect without forming their character. When they read that a miserable bomb-thrower had in his possession 'Mill on Liberty,' and 'Burke on the French Revolution,' they could detect the remote spark which had led to the ultimate conflagration. The second cause of the unrest had been the ferment going on in every part of Asia, which was increased by the victory of the Japanese in the recent war. That victory had gone like a thunderclap through the whispering galleries of the East. It lent shape and confidence to the aspirations which had long been forming, and led the agitators to think that the time had arrived when the policy of deeds might be substituted for the policy of words."

The aim of education in India, as in every other country, should be the making of good citizens in the fullest sense of the term possible. The sketch of Japanese education, which has been given in a previous chapter,¹ shows how it can be done and retain the good qualities of an Eastern and Western training. While developing in a harmonious manner the physical, the mental, and the moral powers of the students, it should fit them directly for practical work of some kind, and at the same time inspire self-devotion for national ends. Real education should fit men not only to help themselves, but also to help the nation, as a whole, to perform every function which is necessary for national welfare. A discussion of the details of Indian education is far beyond our present plan, but those who are responsible for them must recognise that incalculable moral and intellectual injury is produced by the organised endeavour to press the Indian intelligence into an alien mould. If that argument does not appeal to them, then surely the results of the education which has been given in India during the past fifty years should afford them some lessons which they ought to take to heart.

When Japan was reopened to the people of the West, the chief object of the education which was attempted was

¹ P. 113.

what was directly required to enable the Government to meet the new conditions, and therefore it was of a thoroughly practical nature, and directly fitted its recipients for the work which they were expected to do. National education in Japan is now on a much broader basis, and attention is paid to every department of learning ; but, as we have seen, special attention is paid to its special applications, and especially to those connected with trade and industry.

The Government has, however, not been content with what is usually considered education in these departments, but has also taken an active and intelligent interest in their practical developments. These have not been left to haphazard individual enterprise as is, to a large extent, the case in Britain ; but, when they seemed to be of sufficient national importance, the Government has either given them direct or indirect support, or started works on its own account, which would serve not only as object lessons, but also as practical training schools. Not infrequently these experiments cost a great deal of money, but the Japanese were willing to pay for their experience. In some cases, no doubt, they carried their self-reliance too far, and neglected to call in skilled foreign assistance ; but, on the whole, their efforts have been fully justified by the wonderful development of trade and industry which has taken place, and an outline of which has been given in a previous chapter.¹

All these facts are well known in India to those who are taking an interest in the problems of the day, and accounts of them are given at conferences and in many papers which are written regarding them, some of which have contained information which I had given regarding what had been done in Japan. A special Industrial Conference was held in Benares in December 1905, a full report of which has been published² of papers which were read not only by Indians but also by British members of the Indian Civil Service and others, and a perusal of them and of the discussions which

¹ Pp. 88-94.

² By G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.

took place, gives a very good idea not only of the actual position of affairs, but also of the proposals which were made to meet it. We can, meantime, mention a few only of the most important points which were raised.

The President, Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., in his opening address, remarked that there were two extreme views often expressed about Indian industries, both of which he believed to be wrong. One is a despondent view,—a cry of despair,—that Indian industries have no future against European competition, and that India is sinking lower and lower as a purely agricultural country. The other is a roscate view—that the trade of India is increasing by leaps and bounds under the British rule, and that the increasing figures of Indian imports and exports are an index to the growth of Indian manufactures and of the prosperity of the people. As usual, Mr. Dutt said, the truth lies midway. The conditions in India are beset with grave difficulties, but there is no reason for despair. The people of India have to face a severe and in some respects an unequal competition, but Mr. Dutt believed that their future is in their own hands if they face their difficulties like men. The chief difficulties arose from the facts that other competitors had got the start of them, and that the people of India were unfairly handicapped in the race. He gave a short historical review, and showed that for many centuries in the past the manufactures of India were prized in the markets of Europe and Asia; and Arab and Portuguese merchants, Dutch and English traders, shipped large consignments of Indian goods to various ports in the world. In those days there was no thought of repressing Indian industries; on the contrary, it was the interest of the foreign traders to foster them, as far as it was in their power to do so, because the excellence and largeness of Indian manufactures were the sources of their own gain and profit.

When, however, England acquired political power in India in the middle of the eighteenth century, this policy was reversed. Englishmen were manufacturers themselves,

and it was their policy in those days to repress the manufactures of their own colonies in order to promote their own. The export of Indian manufactures to Europe was repressed by prohibitive duties, and the import of English manufactures into India was facilitated by the levy of almost nominal duties. The idea was to make India a country of raw produce for the promotion of British manufacturing industries. Among all the Indian industries of the eighteenth century, the textile industry was the most extensive; and the invention of the power-loom in England completed the ruin of that industry which a system of unfair tariffs had begun. The export of cotton goods from India rapidly declined, while the import of cotton goods into India from Europe rose by leaps and bounds.

Sir George Birdwood, in his book on *The Industrial Arts of India*, writing on the effects of machinery on art productions, says: "What is chiefly to be dreaded is the general introduction of machinery into India. We are just beginning in Europe to understand what things may be done by machinery, and what must be done by hand-work, if art is of the slightest consideration in the matter. But if, owing to the operation of certain economic causes, machinery were to be gradually introduced into India for the manufacture of its great traditional handicrafts, there would ensue an industrial revolution which, if not directed by an intelligent and instructed public opinion and the general prevalence of refined taste, would inevitably throw the traditional arts of the country into the same confusion of principles, and of their practical application to the objects of daily necessity, which has for three generations been the destruction of decorative art and of middle-class taste in England and North-Western Europe, and the United States of America." He points out further that: "The social and moral evils of the introduction of machinery into India are likely to be still greater. At present the industries of India are carried on all over the country, although hand-weaving is everywhere languishing in the unequal competition with

Manchester and the Presidency mills. But in every Indian village all the traditional handicrafts are still to be found at work." The introduction of Western methods of industry into India is evidently beset with many problems, and not the least difficult of these is the fiscal policy to be followed in order that the people of India may derive the greatest advantage from Western industries. Into the discussion on that subject, however, we cannot at present enter.

In order to encourage trade between Japan and India, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japan Mail Steamship Company) runs a special line of steamers to Bombay, Trade between Japan and India. which is specially subsidised by the Japanese Government. It was started primarily for the cotton industry, so that the mills of Japan might be supplied with raw cotton from India ; but, of course, it has developed into many other departments of general commerce, which in certain departments has attained considerable importance. The value of the imports from India to Japan has risen from 10,560,448 yen in 1894 to 74,593,284 yen in 1907, although in 1905 it rose as high as 90,226,830 yen, chiefly on account of the large quantity of raw cotton imported. The exports to India from Japan in the same period rose from 3,688,159 yen to 13,088,089 yen. The imports consisted of a considerable variety of materials, but by far the most important was ginned cotton, to supply the mills of Japan, which in value amounts to nearly two-thirds of the whole. Flax, hemp, and jute figured to considerable amounts, as well as materials used in chemical industries and in construction, thus showing that Japan is utilising the raw materials of India for her manufactures. The pressure of population in Japan, and the attention which is now given to mechanical industries as distinguished from agriculture, is causing her to import food materials to a considerable amount, and among other countries she draws on India for some of her supplies.

The exports of Japan to India are for the most part purely Japanese productions which do not compete with

those of the West ; but in recent years a considerable trade has been done in some of the products of the establishments carried on in Western methods, especially in cotton manufactures of different kinds, and these compete directly not only with the products of Indian mills, but also with those of Lancashire. At a recent meeting of the cotton mill-owners in Bombay, some of the speakers dwelt on the increasing competition with Japan and China, and they did not look forward with pleasure to the future when that competition would be increased. Matches and umbrellas of Japanese manufacture are now largely used not only in India but all over the East, and quite a variety of articles in European style, manufactured in Japan, are now imported into India.

It is no part of our present plan to describe, far less to criticise, the details of the Government of India, but no one who thinks of affairs in the East can avoid asking the question, What is to be its future, and what will be our position in the coming time ?

The future
of India.

More than fifty years ago Mountstuart Elphinstone wrote : " I conceive that the administration of all the departments of a great country by a small number of foreign visitors, in a state of isolation produced by a difference in religion, ideas, and manners, which cuts them off from all intimate communion with the people, can never be contemplated as a permanent state of things. I conceive also that the progress of education among the natives renders such a scheme impossible." Much has happened since these words were written. Education has developed, and Western ideas have been accepted by the graduates of Indian colleges and others who have studied in Europe, and it cannot be wondered that they have attempted, and not always wisely, to formulate their ideas as to the future government of India.

The problems of India are numerous and difficult, and their enumeration, far less their discussion, has not meantime been attempted. We have indicated only some of the lessons which India may learn from Japan, and noted some

of the differences between these two countries which render a complete analogy impossible. The lessons to be learned require to be taken to heart not only by the people of India but also by the people of Britain, who form the ultimate court of appeal for all that affects India. They must awake to a sense of their duties and responsibilities, and endeavour to meet them as far as they can, for a sovereign democracy cannot permanently delegate its powers. They must recognise much more clearly than they do at present, that, as the British Empire will be strong and prosperous in proportion as the administration of each part is in the truest harmony with the evolution of its inhabitants, they have a very serious duty to perform to India, as its complex conditions make it very difficult to estimate the measures which are necessary for the solution of the problems involved. Under modern conditions no country can stand still, and we cannot expect that over three hundred millions of Asiatics will be content for all time to allow an autocratic control to be exercised over them by a remote and inattentive European democracy. Not only must the British Government and the British officials in India, but also the British people generally, come to a clear understanding as to their aim with regard to India. If that is to be reached it must agree with the aspirations of the best of the Indian people. They must recognise not only the changes which Western education is bringing about, but also those which accompany the development of industry and commerce and the extension of international relations, so that they may determine the lessons which India may learn from the West, and how far Eastern and Western methods may be combined.

The discussions which are taking place in Parliament and the British press not only show an increasing knowledge of the problems involved, but also a greater sympathy with the aspirations of the people of India; and Viscount Morley, the Secretary of State for India, has promised that he shall initiate reforms which will give them not only greater influence in the moulding of the national policy but also a larger

share in the administration of the country, and that both of these shall be increased as circumstances seem to justify. While, therefore, order must be maintained with a firm hand, it should be clearly shown by every act of the British Government that its aim is to prepare India for self-government.

JAPAN AND THE MIDDLE AND NEAR EAST

The political results of the war between Japan and Russia have been even more evident in the Middle and Near East, that is to say, in Persia, Egypt, and neighbouring countries, than they have been in British India, and that, no doubt, because the latter country has been more directly under the control of a Western Power than the others.

It is quite evident that the Convention between Great Britain and Russia with regard to Persia, Afghanistan, and Thibet was the direct result of the victories of Japan in the war with Russia, and was an acknowledgment by the latter (however unwillingly made) that her Central Asian policy would require to be modified. The history of diplomacy with Russia shows that in the past she has never allowed treaties to interfere with her plans, when she thinks that conditions have sufficiently changed to allow her to repudiate her obligations with impunity. This was very distinctly shown in her action with regard to the Black Sea Treaty, which was made on the termination of the Crimean War, and to the Berlin Treaty, which followed the last Russo-Turkish War, as well as on other occasions. How far she will carry out the agreements into which she has entered with Japan and Britain experience alone will show. To put it in the mildest possible form, she has certainly been very unfortunate in this respect in the past, and it can only be hoped that the changing internal conditions of Russia and the developments in the neighbouring countries will strengthen rather than weaken the reasons which induced her to enter into these agree-

The British-
Russian Agree-
ment.

ments ; and, so far as it is possible to judge, this is likely to be the case.

The arrangements in the Convention relating to Persia and Afghanistan are peculiar, in so far as they were made without consulting the two Powers chiefly concerned, and thus they afford another illustration of the manner in which the West treats the East. This fact is not likely to be forgotten either by the Persians or by the Afghans, and it is probable that their actions may render the Convention of little or no meaning. The Persians, like other Oriental peoples, had thoroughly realised that, as a result of the war with Japan, the arrogant pretensions of Russia to a high-handed control in Central Asia had received a very effective check ; and recent events in Persia have shown that the leaders of the progressive movement in that country were preparing to take steps in the direction of carrying their ideas into practice. Their disappointment, if not disgust, must have been great, when they found that Britain had turned her back on Persian aspirations and joined with Russia in a scheme for the partition of their country, if not for political, at least for commercial and industrial purposes ; and they have had sufficient experience of Western diplomacy to know that arrangements of this kind inevitably lead to political problems. Meantime, a great impetus has been given to national aspirations in Persia, and it will be interesting to watch the development of constitutional government and its results on international affairs.

Recent events in Persia, however, seem to show that that country is not yet ripe for a complete constitutional government. The use of a battery of artillery is, no doubt, an effective means of closing a Parliamentary discussion, but it does not help in the solution of the problems involved ; it only postpones them, and affords a proof of the danger of attempting to graft Western institutions on an Eastern country, before the people have been adequately prepared for them.

We need not, meantime, discuss the details of the Con-

vention. That agreement is as little likely to please the Afghans as the Persians, and it seemed altogether unnecessary in so far as they were concerned. The relations between India and Afghanistan were on an exceptionally satisfactory footing, and the Ameer and his advisers must have been astonished when they discovered that an agreement had been come to between Great Britain and Russia as to their proprietary rights in their country. The only right which they have hitherto admitted has been to be left alone, and their proud spirits must have resented the attempt to dispose of them and their interests without being in any way consulted. It is to be hoped that Great Britain and Russia will not only avoid all occasion of quarrel between themselves, but that they will interfere in the affairs of Persia and Afghanistan as little as possible. If these two countries are to make any real progress, the impulse must come from within; in any case the conditions of the surrounding countries make it impossible that they should stand still.

With regard to Thibet the Convention stipulates that neither Great Britain nor Russia "shall seek or obtain, whether for themselves or their subjects, any concessions for railways, roads, telegraphs, or mines." Whether this was a self-denying ordinance on the part of the contracting parties, or a condition made by the Thibetans, is not known. Probably mutual jealousy on the part of Great Britain and Russia will, by the imposition of unnecessary restrictions, tend to stereotype the existing stagnation. Here, again, the example of Japan should have been followed, and advantage taken of Western science and methods, and, indeed, of all that was necessary for the real welfare of the country, subject always to the condition that its political independence was carefully guarded.

Some interesting lessons may be learned from the experience of the island of Mauritius, which is situated intermediate between Asia and Africa, although geographically it belongs to Africa. It may be looked upon as a half-way

house in the Indian Ocean, between the Yellow and the Dark Continents. Economically and ethnologically it is a very interesting study, and is a striking example, on a small scale, of a development which will ^{An economic outpost of Asia.} certainly be seen elsewhere on a larger. The old French Colony which represented European civilisation is rapidly losing its traditional character, and the greater part of the island is passing into the hands of Indians and Chinese. The sugar estates are changing ownership, being broken up into small holdings, purchased for the most part by Indians. Experience seems to show that Indians and Chinese can thrive anywhere together, if they live under proper conditions. Sir Charles Bruce, a former Governor of the island, has given a very interesting account of its evolution,¹ and he concludes it by saying: "I must count myself unfortunate if I have failed to show that the evolution of the Crown Colony of Mauritius has resulted in an appropriate population of European, African, and Asiatic descent, enjoying equal civil and political rights, without distinction of origin or creed, appropriate to the development of the resources of the soil, to the exigencies of commerce, to the high trust and function of administrative and legislative authority."

By an unwritten law and by force of custom the numbers of immigrants are limited to the economic requirements of the island. In Mauritius, as elsewhere, prior to the abolition of slavery, the elementary operations of industry which cannot be undertaken by the white men were performed by African negroes. It is certain that, if the emancipated slaves could have been persuaded to carry on the elementary operations of agriculture, they would have learned in time that the cultivation of land leads to its acquisition, and they would have kept in their hands the natural wealth of the soil, which has in a large measure passed to a race which has supplanted them. The British Government did all it could to secure the adhesion of the emancipated slaves to the soil,

¹ *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Feb. 1908, p. 57.

but it failed, and their place is now largely taken by Indians, whose frugal industry has gradually enabled them to acquire a vast number of small holdings, to the great advantage not only of themselves, but also of the colony. Between the traders who have acquired estates and the proprietors of small holdings, one-third of the whole cultivated area of the colony is now owned, nearly the whole of which would have been abandoned but for the enterprise and industry of these men. The Indian community includes over 200,000 Hindus, about 40,000 Mahomedans, and 3000 Buddhists. It also includes many Christians, who form a close bond of union with the general community. Besides cultivating sugar-canes for the supply of the sugar-mills, their small holdings have left them ample time to work as gardeners, carters, carriers, hawkers and pedlars. In this way they have acquired almost a monopoly of the carrying business, and this has served as a link connecting them with agriculture on one side and trade on another. For, in the meantime, a consequence of the Asiatic immigration was the introduction of rice as the staple diet of the colony, while coincidently the competition of beetroot sugar in Europe and other causes made India the chief market for Mauritius sugar. Thus the bulk of the export and import trade, including nearly all the commodities that enter into the constant consumption and use of the population, has been transferred from Europe to Asia, and has fallen into the hands of the Indian traders, mostly represented by wealthy Bombay firms. They have naturally helped to find employment for their countrymen in the carrying and hawking trade as distributors of their commerce.

The Chinese are a peculiar people, and occupy a peculiar position in Mauritius as elsewhere. They have served a useful purpose, and have always loyally submitted themselves to the regulations and wishes of the Government. By an arrangement among themselves—an arrangement with which the Government has nothing to do—about 10 per cent repatriate themselves every year, and make room for

others, and thus they prevent the competition among themselves from becoming unduly severe. Sir Charles Bruce says that they have acquired a monopoly of the retail provision trade by methods which he has always regretted. They have made this branch of trade subsidiary to the retail liquor trade, of which they have also acquired a monopoly, and the profits of the liquor trade enable them to undercut competition in the provision trade. If the profits of the retail liquor trade were transferred from the Chinese to the Government for public purposes, it is probable that the Chinese immigration would cease, and the legitimate profits of the retail provision trade would be restored to the general community. Sir Charles Bruce made a proposal in this sense, but it has not met with encouragement.

These details are mentioned because they illustrate the influence of economic forces on social and even on political conditions. That influence is further shown on the "general community," which includes a population of a little over 100,000 persons with European blood in their veins, but the members of this community of pure European descent cannot exceed 5000. The British element is very small: the predominant influence is that of the families who brought in and have maintained "the charming characteristics of old France," and they cling to each other "in either fortune" with a brave tenacity of attachment. But their influence is purely personal, as is the influence, of a different order, of the British representatives of British capital and enterprise. Otherwise there is no distinction of origin, and the State recognises no aristocracy but that of office; society none but that of merit and success. High office in the administration, the dignity of the Bench, the honours and emoluments of the learned professions, the influence of landed property, the profits of commerce are open to all. Education has been a chief concern of the State with which the Churches have loyally co-operated, and these two forces have produced the evolution of the general community. Perhaps it is possible to overestimate the value of the lessons to be

learned from the experience of Mauritius. It is a small island, and the climatic and economic conditions are very suitable to experiments which have been made. What has been carried out successfully under these conditions might, if attempted on a larger scale, lead to insuperable racial difficulties. Still, there can be no doubt that in many parts of the world the example of Mauritius could be followed to a considerable extent if proper arrangements were made, and if they were carried out in a rational manner.

JAPAN AND AFRICA

It may seem rather far-fetched to trace the influence of Japan on Africa, but there can be little doubt that in some respects that influence has been felt. Apart, however, from that aspect of the subject, there are certain racial conditions in different parts of Africa which bear directly on some of the subjects which we have been discussing, and a glance at them will help us to arrive at some conclusions on the more general aspects of the problems involved.

There are many difficult problems at the present time in South Africa, and probably the most important of these is that concerned with the relations of the different races which inhabit that part of the world. There is an increasing prospect of an amalgamation of the British and the Dutch elements; but, in addition to these, there are the Kaffir and the Indian elements, and there can be little doubt that the example and the influence of Japan has had some effect on the native mind and on the action of the Indians in the country, and that influence is likely to increase.

A study of native conditions in South Africa shows that under the clan system the Kaffirs have many features of a rudimentary socialism in the arrangements which they have evolved for military, judicial, and other race-preserving purposes, and that socialistic customs dominate the psychology of the individual Kaffir, and exercise a wonderful restraint

on his strong natural passions wherever the clan system remains intact. Kaffir socialism, however, is essentially anti-democratic, and those who have studied the subject view with a good deal of alarm the general policy of breaking down a clan system so well suited to the needs and feelings of the Kaffirs. They, however, admit that the attack of European individualism, which is actually proceeding fast, cannot be reversed, and they see that the real native problem is set in terms which involve a further dissipation of the clan and the education and civilisation of the individual native. Mr. Dudley Kidd, in an interesting book,¹ discusses what he believes to be the mistakes of educational methods, which lay far too much stress upon the cultivation of the memory and purely literary training, and falls into line with the criticism which is producing such fruitful changes in the education of the American negro; but, while he perceives the advantage of combining industrial training with the teaching of the schoolroom, he fully recognises the grave practical difficulties that will arise when masses of skilled native workers claim large fields of employment which hitherto have been the preserves of white men. However wise the education, it must raise those racial difficulties which will be aggravated by a growing sense of Kaffir nationality when freer intercourse has broken down the barriers of clans. Dealing with this prospect, Mr. Kidd is filled with dismal forebodings: "Looking far ahead," he says, "it is difficult to see how we can stay the tide of education or avoid the ultimate clash that must ensue when educated Kaffirs will form so large a body that they will threaten to drive the white man, either by peaceable or warlike means, out of the country." This, however, is one of the ultimate problems on which we need not meantime speculate, although it should not be forgotten in present-day legislation and administration.

Moreover, it has a very important bearing on the subject of Indians in South Africa, and in a recent discussion in the

¹ *Kaffir Socialism*, A. and C. Black.

House of Lords the speakers showed that they were able to look at both sides of the subject. The right of a self-governing colony to decide whether its territory shall be the home of a British rather than an Asiatic race was unreservedly admitted, and it was, of course, further admitted as a corollary that it had the right of restriction, or even exclusion of Asiatic immigrants, and with it the right of effective registration of Asiatics already in residence. It was also recognised that the South African Colonies, with a native question already on their hands, had a double claim to freedom of action in preventing the rise of a second embarrassment of the same kind. But, as Lord Curzon so eloquently set forth, there is the claim of British Indians to be full citizens of the Empire, as we have exhorted them to consider themselves; the natural seeking of outlets for a population which our own policy has caused to grow with enormous rapidity, the general ideas which we have laboured to implant in the minds of our Indian fellow-subjects, and the services which we have called upon to render to the Empire when it suited ourselves.

The problems in Natal are very special. There are in that Colony 95,000 Europeans, 112,000 Indians or Asiatics, and about 938,000 Kaffirs, so that the Indian population already substantially exceeds the European population, while the Kaffirs far outnumber both. The latter, however, are not much inclined to regular work, and for a good many years the sugar-planters on the coastal territory in Natal encouraged the immigration of Indians to assist in the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and many of them remained in the country after the conclusion of their indentured period. A large number of the Indians in Natal are of the second and third generations, and know nothing of the country of their origin. A recent writer has stated that: "In Natal there are Indians in the plantations, Indians in wholesale trade in the big cities and in retail trade in every township, Indians on the railways, Indians as waiters in the hotels and Indians in domestic service. They are making

their way into offices and counting-houses. Industrious, sober, frugal, they have now possessed the even tenor of their way, unmoved amidst the furious controversies that rend South African society from time to time. The Indian storekeeper it is who most excites the wrath of the European settler. Day by day, week by week, and year by year the careful merchant adds to his hidden store of petty gains, until he has amassed wealth beyond the dreams of Indian avarice. Even the Polish Jew is worn down in the end by his admirable persistence. The British shopkeeper has no chance at all. He cannot compete with the Indian on any terms whatever. He cannot live as cheaply or pay wages on the same microscopic scale. So it comes about that the Indian tradesman advances from the poorer purlieus of South African towns into the streets of secondary fashion, and finally establishes himself in the best positions. They rejoice in Durban that the centre of West Street has not yet fallen into Asiatic hands, but the Asiatic needs only to bide his time. In Ladysmith Indian tradesmen are in a large majority, and in most of the smaller townships his only rival is the Jew. There are not a few settlements where the whole of the retail trade is in his hands. I suppose that no shopkeepers in the world excel these Indians in the perfection of their methods. Everything that enterprise, foresight, adaptability can accomplish is accomplished by the courteous and serviceable trader. From retail trading in the remote country districts to money-lending is an obvious step. The aboriginal falls an easy victim to this subtle folk, while both English and Dutch farmers have been known to enmesh themselves in the net of the Indian usurer. This is not to say that the Indian distinguishes himself pre-eminently in a branch of industry that is actively prosecuted by peoples of fairer complexion. What then? If the Indian is as good a man at his job, and in some departments a better man, why should he not supplant the European? Is he not also a fellow-subject under the Crown?"¹

¹ Cecil Harmsworth, M.P., *Pleasure and Problem in South Africa*, p. 178.

The answer to these questions involves considerations of the profoundest imperial and racial moment. It cannot be disputed that, in many positions in South Africa, the Indian performs many very useful functions. At the same time he raises many animosities, chiefly, however, on account of the economic difficulties he causes to certain classes of the white population. The problem is to reconcile his rights as a British subject with what the colonists believe to be their interests. The Indians in Natal have been an industrial and domestic convenience, and the price must be paid. They were invited to come and assist in the development of the colony, and those who are there must be treated in a reasonable manner ; but the future policy regarding immigration will require very careful consideration. Their present numbers do not constitute an insuperable bar to the development of the colony in the interests of the white and the native races. The example of Mauritius seems to show that the solution of the problem lies in a limited immigration, regulated according to the requirements of the various colonies and their climatic conditions. At the same time, the unwisdom of importing Chinese under the conditions which were recently carried out, and with such numbers, is very apparent. The step was taken entirely in the interests of the capitalists, and was an altogether unjustifiable complication of a problem which was already sufficiently complicated by racial, economic, and moral factors. Even those who promoted it now recognise the mistake which was made, and it is to be hoped that the step will soon be entirely retraced.

Throughout the greater part of Natal, Cape Colony, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, the climatic conditions are the best possible for white colonisation, and certain restrictions may be put on Asiatic immigration into these territories according to the economic and climatic conditions ; but, even when the interests of the whites and the rights of the natives have been safeguarded, there are enormous areas of fertile and beautiful country in which Asiatics live and thrive and multiply, and which, in a very short time, could be

opened, if they are not already opened, to colonists from India and other parts of Asia.

It is only right to say, however, that this view is opposed by men who have had long experience of South Africa. For instance, Sir Godfrey Lagden, late Commissioner for Native Affairs in the Transvaal, objects to the organised immigration of British Indians on lines of permanent settlement, for the following amongst other reasons:—¹

1. All experience shows that the introduction of aliens into a colony with an indigenous population to meet temporary demands for labour, or for other purpose, without rigid provision for repatriation, has produced disastrous results wherever it has been attempted.

2. Protectorates where the white race has established itself and can thrive, though in certain parts unsuitable for hard work or continuous residence, may become centres of population and develop mining and other industries to an astonishing degree if discoveries are made and enterprise is set agoing.

3. East Africa—a case in point—is young, and fulfils many of the conditions which attract the European race as regards altitude, climate, pursuits, and possibilities.

4. The aboriginal races in occupation, whose cause stands in need of representation, are multiplying fast, and are forming an indigenous nationalism of their own under our guidance. We are stimulating them to improve and to be industrious; we have no right to cramp their material development and stifle their hopes by bequeathing their natural field of expansion to competitors alien in characteristics and language with whom they cannot fuse.

5. Preservation of the purity of races should be an aim. It is manifestly impolitic to graft the religious caste of Hindustan upon the wild African fetish. Sir Godfrey Lagden concludes by saying that, "It is criminal folly deliberately to create problems in a new country in order to assuage them in another," and, while he professes not to

¹ *The Nineteenth Century*, Sept. 1908, p. 398.

affirm anything which would foster a sentiment of antipathy to Asiatics, it is very evident that his view of the problems involved is very partial and one-sided. It is useful, however, to note it.

The Dutch in South Africa have always opposed the immigration of Indians, and in the Orange River Colony it has never been permitted (except in the case of male domestic servants, and then only under special permit which is not easily obtained), and in the Transvaal strenuous efforts have always been made to prevent it. One of the first acts of the Botha Ministry was the now famous Asiatic Law Amendment Act, which provided for a system of registration and identification to which bitter exception was taken by the Indians, and even the modifications which were introduced do not seem to have removed their grievances. It is to be hoped that arrangements will be made which will be sufficient to meet the demands of the immediate future, but it is evident that the problems involved are very difficult, and no vigilance, no imagination, no wisdom can be too great for the task of reconciling the opposing forces. When we have done everything to diminish friction, there will remain a tremendous problem for our successors, merging into a yet more tremendous problem for white civilisation as a whole, and it should receive immediate and earnest study.

When British writers are inclined to criticise the actions of Japan in Korea, they should compare them with what has happened in Egypt under the authority of the British Government. Years ago solemn promises were made that Egypt would be evacuated by British troops, but they are still there, and their presence is justified not by abstract principles of justice or morality but because of political conditions. We need not, meantime, discuss this aspect of the subject, and it is only mentioned to recall the fact that responsible Governments believe that their actions are very often limited by political conditions which make it impossible to carry out the ideals with which they started.

The interest of Great Britain in Egypt arises chiefly from

the fact that it lies on the highway to India, and she could not allow it to fall into the hands of any hostile Power, or even agree that such a Power should have a dominating influence over it. We cannot, meantime, enter into the details of the circumstances which led to the present conditions in Egypt or to the position which Great Britain takes in them, but it must be admitted that, whatever may have been the political reasons behind their action, the immediate cause of the intervention of the European Powers and ultimately of British domination was the determination of the financiers who had lent money to the Khedive to get hold of the economic resources of Egypt in order that they might enrich themselves. They were successful in their efforts and they have never relaxed their grip, with the result that the resources of the people have been wasted and frittered away in a manner which is almost without parallel in history. Probably the British politicians were the unwilling tools of the financiers. However that may be, when the true history of the proceedings is published, it will afford another striking illustration of the methods which the peoples of the West adopt when dealing with those of the East.

The British occupation has been eulogised chiefly because it has restored prosperity and order to Egypt, and no doubt it has, in a sense ; but with these blessings have come many of the serious social and economic problems which accompany capitalistic exploitation. Under the guidance of British and other European administrators great developments have taken place in every department of national activity, and there can be no doubt that the material conditions of the country have immensely improved. The growth of nationalist aspirations in Egypt in recent years has also been remarkable, and no doubt many reasons have contributed to it. Among these, the example of Japan has been not the least important. Even the most ardent nationalists admit the material progress which has been made and the improvement in law and order which has taken place, and they are grateful for the services which Britain has rendered ; but they

believe that it would have been better if Egypt had worked out her own salvation in her own way, following, of course, the example of Japan in securing such Western assistance as she required. They say that probably she would have made many mistakes and no doubt have taken a longer time to show measurable results, but they insist that Egypt should remain Egyptian in spirit and in methods and not simply become, in some respects, a bad imitation of Britain.

This, they think, is especially true of education. The mistake which has been made in India, they say, is being repeated in Egypt. English methods and subjects are chiefly employed, with the result that the students are too often unfitted for the positions to which they were born and not fitted for much else, except to act as clerks or subordinate Government officials, for, in Egypt, as in India, an official career is for many of them the badge of respectability. Those who cannot find positions to suit them not infrequently become political agitators or writers to the native Press, in which they air their crude opinions to their ignorant readers. An Egyptian politician has said: "We require citizens and men. Let any dispassionate judge examine the syllabus of secondary education, and attend the classes in the schools, and ask himself what is there in the system and practice of instruction which fits youths to step into positions of trust and responsibility in national and municipal service, on railways, in banks, or in private establishments? What opportunity is afforded them of becoming grounded in commercial questions? None, absolutely none. All their training is directed to preparing them to be mere clerks or interpreters to their English superiors. There are many defects in the system of instruction imparted in the higher Government Colleges, but a discussion of these would involve technicalities which here would be out of place."¹ The writer from whom we have quoted advocates a system of scientific and technical training, of which a beginning has been made in Egypt, and in the development of which many

¹ *Lectures upon the Affairs of Egypt*, Routledge, 1908.

lessons might be learned from the experience of Japan. Technical education as it is often conducted is to a very large extent a waste of time, energy, and money, for it too often consists in cramming the students with facts and figures or in giving dexterity to manual operations, and those who are responsible for it forget the fact that the students must first of all be men and citizens, and not mere annexes to machines or parts in a large organisation. The Japanese pay special attention to the training in character and in civic and national duty, and this, to a large extent, is the secret of their wondrous success. If Egypt is ever to become worthy of her past history she must follow this example.

The task of Great Britain in Egypt, although not nearly so immense and complex as that in India, deserves far more attention from the British public than it receives. They must not rely on a policy of official optimism varied by vindictive panic, or dismiss with a smile every protest as the outcome of shallow nationalism or misguided idealism. British politicians and administrators profess the desire that Egypt should be able to stand alone, without external props, but they are agreed that, for the present, the centering cannot be removed from beneath the arch, and that autonomy would bring in disorder and disaster and renewed intervention. What Lord Cromer calls "The Egyptian Puzzle" is much more complicated than the enthusiastic Nationalists seem to imagine, and probably a first step in the direction of autonomy would be the assimilation of our system of government under the British occupation to that employed in the Native States of India, although the problem in Egypt is more complicated on account of the cosmopolitan nature of the population. The proposed establishment of Provincial Councils would be a step towards a more complete form of constitutional government. The changes which are taking place in Turkey and the Near East generally are certain to have considerable effect on affairs in Egypt, as it would be impossible to have constitutional government in Turkey without at the same time granting it to Egypt.

Affairs, however, in these quarters are still too unsettled to afford any definite guidance, and therefore it is desirable to hasten slowly.

JAPAN AND EUROPE

The developments which have taken place in the Far East have profoundly affected the conditions of Western policy in that part of the world, and, hereafter, the potentates of Europe will have reason to think twice before shaking their mailed fists in the faces of the nations of the Far East. There must be a profound change in the methods of dealing with them. The days of crooked diplomacy, gunboat arguments, veiled threats and monstrous indemnities must be looked upon as past, and all questions must be discussed and settled on a basis of international equity. Japan is able and determined to defend her own interests, and China is following her example and taking advantage of European methods and appliances. As Mr. Byron Brennan, a very competent authority on all things Chinese, has very truly said: "China, because she could not help it, has shown great toleration and patience; Foreign Powers, in taking advantage of this, have gone too far; and now China intends to reconsider the situation." It is to be hoped that that reconsideration does not lead her to the conclusion that eternal justice demands that she should repay, with interest, the wrongs which have been inflicted on her by the Powers of the West. In a recent speech in Parliament Mr. (now Viscount) Morley said: "There are few countries whose relations with ourselves we could regard with less pride than our relations with China." Commenting on this expression of opinion, Colonel A. M. Murray (who has recently visited the Far East and written an interesting book¹ on the military and naval questions involved) says: "It would be nearer the truth to say that no country has

Western policy
in the Far East.

¹ *Imperial Outposts*, John Murray, 1907.

ever behaved towards another with such deplorable disregard for the first rules of conduct which the sage Confucius has left behind him for the guidance of his countrymen: 'Do not to others what you would not that they should do to you.'"

The success in arms of Japan has done more to convert the peoples of the West to a sense of what is due to international morality than all their religions. It has effectually arrested European ambitions in the Far East and put an end to the scramble which took place not only for "spheres of influence," but also for "leases," not to speak of more permanent possessions. The awakening of China has not only made the arrest of Western aggression permanent, but has now made some suggested arrangements seem rather stupid jokes, for a Power is being developed with immense resources, and, therefore, with unknown potentialities both for defence and for offence.

The rapid developments which have taken place in the Far East have, in many respects, entirely altered the trend of world-politics, although it is impossible to give quantitative measurements. In surveying the whole situation it is evident that colonisation and political influence by Western Powers have been rendered impossible on the American Continents by the practical meaning which has now been given to the hitherto somewhat abstract Munroe Doctrine, and in Further Asia by the rise of Japan and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, in Persia by the Anglo-Russian Agreement, while in Western Asia and the Near East, if the reform movement succeeds, the growth of national spirit will render political interference equally impossible. The victories of Japan, reacting on the inert mass of Asia, have given life and impetus to the latent energies and aspirations of India and China, of Persia and Egypt, and we have the Ottoman Empire becoming the centre of revolutionary forces which may have most important results in both Europe and Asia.

If the peoples of the East allow themselves to be drawn into the struggle for wealth to the same extent as those of

the West, their competition in the markets of the world will certainly become very severe. How far that is likely to be limited by tariffs and other arrangements is a point on which we are likely to have a great amount of discussion and a great variety of opinion. Even as things are at present, not a few who do business with the Far East think that Japan is too wide-awake, and they view with considerable alarm the possibility of a similar awakening on the part of China. Badly informed and ill-natured articles have appeared in the newspapers and journals of Europe and America on the subject, in which the writers do not hesitate to express the opinion that instead of entering into an alliance with Japan, the people of Great Britain ought to regard her as their chief competitor and enemy in trade and industry in Eastern countries. They still look upon those countries as having been created chiefly for the purpose of being exploited by the peoples of the West, and they have no sympathy with the national aspirations which are marked features in almost all Eastern countries at the present time. This is a very narrow view to take of the matter, and it must be changed before there can be any hope of a reconciliation of the East and the West. The British especially require to revise their ideas on the subject. They must not only recognise the economic changes which have taken place, and which are certain to continue to take place at a rapidly increasing rate, but also the interests and aspirations of the peoples in the different parts of the world. That world was not created chiefly for the purpose of enriching the British race. No doubt their energy and intelligence have given them a very large share of its material wealth, and also a controlling power over a great part of its surface; but times and conditions are changing, and they must adapt themselves to them.

British manufacturers suffer from their past success. Many of their concerns are burdened with a nominal capital, a considerable part of which never had any real existence, but was produced by the process of "watering," but yet it is

expected to bear interest and produce profits to its present holders, many of whom are mere parasites who do nothing but draw their dividends. Moreover, the resources of the country are burdened with numerous aristocratic classes which do little work of a productive or socially useful nature, but whose incomes are extracted from the produce of the workers. In new industrial countries these classes are, to a large extent, non-existent ; and every one connected with any undertaking—industrial, commercial, or agricultural—takes his fair share in its effective work, and this in itself largely accounts for their success, as they attract all the cleverest men. Many of the tools and appliances of British manufacturers are out of date, and their business methods are antiquated, while in many cases too much time is spent on sport and enjoyment. Personal and household expenses are often unnecessarily high, so that the businesses suffer not only from defective production but also from too lavish expenditure. Many of the workers do not make the best use of their incomes, a considerable proportion being spent on drink and other things which do not lead to health, efficiency, or happiness. In his Rectorial Address to the students of St. Andrews University, Mr. Andrew Carnegie said : “ In viewing the immediate future of Britain without misgiving, as far as maintaining her present trade is concerned, I count upon the inherent qualities and capabilities of our race, which, lulled to drowsy inactivity by prosperity under highly favourable conditions, are bound to be again aroused by adversity, more or less severe, under strong competition. There is such wide scope for improvement that the most despondent may be encouraged ; nor does the reform imply want or suffering, or less desirable conditions of life for either employer or employed—far otherwise. That the drink-bill of this country, now reaching the incredible figure of one hundred and sixty millions sterling, should be cut in half, or only a quarter or less of it left, or better still, if only twenty millions were left, implies not the degradation but the elevation of the people. That the sums risked by both

masters and working-men in gambling, and the greater injury wrought in the waste of their time and thoughts, should become evils of the past, would improve the poor slaves of this habit. That they should smoke less would not render life less happy nor health less robust. Thirty-two millions per year are now spent on tobacco; better if half or more were saved. And so with many of the rude sports, better if these were abandoned. From these evils the Continent and America are comparatively, and in some cases almost entirely, free." Mr. Carnegie further points out that in Britain "the employers often fail to give business the unremitting attention, and to display the energy and enterprise of the founders of the practical monopoly of the past. They generally regard it as only a means to win entrance to another rank of society. The employed think too much of how little they need do, too little of how much they can do. Both classes still take life easily in this day of competition, which only the day of established monopoly could support."

The discussion of the social and economic conditions of Great Britain is far beyond our present scope, and it is satisfactory to know that public opinion is being awakened with regard to their importance, and educationists and social reformers are earnestly directing attention to the problems involved. In those days of internationalism in trade and industry the manufacture of inefficients must be avoided. The weighty words of the closing sentence of the report of the Commission on the Poor Laws should be taken seriously to heart: "No country, however rich, can permanently hold its own in the race of international competition if hampered by an increasing load of this dead weight (of costly and useless inefficients), or can successfully perform the rôle of sovereignty beyond the seas if a portion of its own folk are sinking below the civilisation and aspirations of its subject-races abroad."

When we look at the conditions of the Japanese in relation to this competition, we see that although they suffered at first from lack of experience they started with a clean slate, and were able to take advantage of all the latest

improvements in appliances and methods, and with the minimum of capital necessary for their work. Their personal habits have remained simple and their expenditure small. These conditions, combined with the cheap labour obtainable in the country, the other favourable conditions, their ability and attention to business and their determination to succeed, explain the rapid progress which they have made. At first the chief incentive to active industrial pursuits was the desire to make their country the equal of the other great countries of the world, but in accomplishing this they have awakened the desire for wealth on the part of individuals ; and capitalism in its various forms is now greatly developed in Japan, and it has brought the people face to face with the same problems as are to be found in the other industrial countries of the world. It has also developed the personal qualities which too often accompany aggressive commercialism, and has laid the Japanese open to a considerable amount of criticism, for which, no doubt, there is some ground, but which in many cases is grossly exaggerated and unfair. Western criticism of the Japanese requires to be accepted with very great caution and the conditions which have caused it carefully examined.

The peoples of the West have not sufficiently recognised the economic evolution which is going on in all parts of the world. The study of this evolution is of special importance to the people of this country, the position of which in the world of commerce and industry depends so much on economic conditions. Great Britain is no longer the workshop of the world, and it was absurd to have expected that it should have remained in that position. By a lucky combination of circumstances it obtained a good start in the industrial race ; but there are no reasons why the raw materials of industry should be conveyed from all parts of the world to a somewhat out-of-the-way island, there to be converted into manufactured products to be distributed to the various countries. Almost all these countries are awakening to the necessity of developing

Economic
evolution.

their national resources, and, if the economic conditions are suitable, they are fully justified not only in supplying their own wants, but also in taking a share in the international trade of the world. The determination of these economic conditions, however, is one of the problems on which there is much difference of opinion, and this leads to a conflict of national policies.

Let us glance at the main points in the general economic evolution as it affects the position of Great Britain. The industrial revolution of the nineteenth century was essentially dependent on the utilisation of coal as a source of mechanical power. The industries of Britain rose first, and those of the Continent were delayed partly because Britain had cheap capital available from her economic commerce and partly because she supported wars on the Continent, making, no doubt, ultimately for freedom, by preventing a widespread despotism, but none the less delaying industrial competition. Since about 1878, however, the essential unity of the regions on either side of the Channel and the North Sea has again become evident in the industrial rivalries of Great Britain, Belgium, and Germany. In almost all other parts of the world great industrial developments are taking place; and we have come to a period of great empires and immense commercial and industrial trusts, which in great part dominate national and international affairs. Even supposing the present political conditions of the British Empire to continue (which is a very large supposition) it must be evident that its economic centre will no longer be in the British Islands but in Canada, because there will be the greatest seat of national productivity and of man-power. Moreover, Australasia will have developed immensely as will also have India, and this will profoundly affect the economic conditions of Great Britain.

The industrial development of the United States of America has been phenomenal, and with their immense resources it is as yet only beginning. It started without many of the encumbrances of Great Britain, and with the

advantage of being able to utilise the accumulated skill and experience of the world. Already it makes more steel than all the rest of the world ; in coal and iron its production is the greatest of any country, as it also is in textiles, wool, and silk. It produces three-fourths of the cotton grown in the world, and the value of its manufactures is about three times those of Great Britain, and already its exports are greater. Besides having the advantages of immense natural resources, it has less of a financial burden on account of military and naval expenditure. Moreover, its tariff arrangements have had a most marked effect on the development of its industries, but largely at the expense of its agricultural and professional population. The result has been a greatly increased competition with Great Britain in the markets of the world, and especially in those of the Far East.

Germany, however, is in many respects our greatest competitor in these markets. Her industrial development in recent years has been very great, and her position relatively to that of Great Britain has been entirely changed. Her production of steel is now second to that of the United States, and in other departments of manufacture her output is very large, and the Germans are obtaining a great hold on the trade of the Pacific area. They adapt themselves to the conditions of the various countries to a greater extent than the British, who are somewhat haughty in their manner and keep aloof from the natives. The Germans, as a rule, study their language, and are thus able to deal with them direct, and to dispense with that old institution of Eastern trade—the compradore. Moreover, they are very frugal in their personal habits and in their methods of conducting business, and are therefore able to offer their goods at lower prices than those of their British competitors.

Japan affords the most wondrous example of industrial development. Having determined to win her way to the highest position among the nations of the world, she deliberately made her plans and carried them out with persistent energy, notwithstanding her apparent fickleness in matters

of detail. She never lost sight of the main object of her ambition. The schools and colleges which were founded fitted men for every department of work in a modern state, and especially in all that was necessary to give her strength, as that is usually measured when estimating the position of a nation among the nations of the world. Public works of all kinds were instituted, at first in an experimental way directly by Government, and, when men had been trained, and some progress had been made in manufacture, by private capitalists. During the earlier stages of the development great quantities of machinery of all kinds were imported into Japan from Europe and America, the working of which, at first, was superintended by foreigners, but in a comparatively short time Japanese were qualified to take their places. No doubt in many cases they paid dearly for their experience, but their self-reliance has been fully justified by the wonderful developments which have taken place in almost every department of modern industry.

Japan is so conveniently situated that the immense natural resources of China are available for industrial purposes. Her railways have been laid out so that they connect her harbours with the most important manufacturing centres, and the raw materials of China can be conveyed to these as cheaply as from some parts of Japan. The Chinese, however, are not likely to be content with the export of their raw materials, but are certain to engage largely in manufactures of all kinds. Indeed, a good start has already been made in several departments, and they are fitting themselves to manage them without the assistance of other nations, and to make China an industrial country. As has been already indicated, the Chinese detest war. Trade and money-making are the ideals of the race, but even these they keep strictly within bounds, so long as they are living under purely Chinese conditions. Contact with foreigners, however, turns them into keen men of business, and it cannot be doubted that a large part of the trade of

the Far East is rapidly falling into their hands. It has been truly said that "the battle of the future with the yellow race will not be fought on any battlefield, but in the labour markets of the nations that they would invade." For this, again, the people of the West are largely responsible. They have insisted, as far as they could, on the material development of China, and they have supplied the brains and the machines necessary for that development, but they do not seem to recognise the inevitable economic results of their action. More than thirty years ago my old friend, the first Chinese Minister to Japan, said to me: "You foreigners are very anxious for what you are pleased to call the awakening of China. I would like to ask you if you have ever considered what your position in industry and trade in the Far East, and consequently in your own countries would be if China were fully awake to a sense of her power, and able to utilise her immense resources." Some of the possibilities of the future of China are now being recognised by those who are able to judge of the signs of the times, and have made themselves acquainted with the resources of that great Empire and the capacities of its people. When these are fully realised, their self-satisfaction will receive a rude shock. Many of the difficulties of Western manufacturers and merchants have arisen from their slowness or their inability to recognise the great changes which have taken place in the economic conditions of the Far East, and their reluctance to adapt themselves to these conditions. They have not followed intelligently the evolution which is going on. Never in the history of the world, as at the present time, was the closing paragraph of Morley's *Life of Cobden* so pertinent: "Great economic and social forces flow with a tidal sweep over communities that are only half-conscious of that which is befalling them. Wise statesmen are those who foresee what time is thus bringing, and endeavouring to shape institutions and to mould men's thought and purpose in accordance with the change that is silently surrounding them."

The ultimate results of the industrial evolution which is going on in all parts of the world, will certainly be that the economic conditions of the British Islands will be entirely changed. We need not, however, speculate meantime with regard to ultimate economic results, it will be sufficient to consider shortly what may be expected in the immediate future. There is no need for panic on the subject, because there is not likely to be violent dislocations of trade and industry, and there will be time for the new conditions to adjust themselves, although probably not without hardship not only to individuals but also to nations. It is not sufficient to demonstrate beyond all doubt that the East is capable of almost indefinite industrial expansion, as a hundred-and-one other conditions need to be satisfied, and the process of accommodation of the West to the East will go on gradually as the latter changes under the influence of the former. At the same time, it must be recognised that the developments which have taken place in Japan will continue, and probably at a rapidly increasing rate, and that the changes which have taken place in the other countries in the Pacific area are insignificant compared with those which will in the future take place in the relations of the East and the West.

Western manufacturers and merchants, as a rule, take a very short-sighted view of the effects of their operations. They cry for the opening up, or, as they put it, for the "awakening" of new countries, and push their trade in machinery of all kinds. They point with pride to the public works which grow up as the result of their efforts, and they praise the authorities when they take an interest in education, especially that aspect of it which is called technical, and intended to train those who will manage industrial establishments. They are also willing to lend any amount of money at good rates of interest if the security seems sufficient, but they seldom consider what will be the results on the trade of their own country. When these results are being felt by merchants and manufacturers,

complaints are heard about undue competition. Some of those who have taken a part in the educational arrangements, which have been the immediate cause of the industrial developments, have even been taunted with being traitors to their country, because they have raised up competitors who are capturing a large share of the trade which came to this country. Such language, of course, is beneath contempt, but it shows the narrow outlook of many commercial men, and the selfishness which would deny to other countries the opportunity for the development of their natural resources. The manner in which that development is carried out is a matter to be settled by the peoples of the countries chiefly concerned.

In the cotton industry, for instance, Japan can not only, in great part, supply her own wants, but is also able to export considerable quantities of yarn to all the countries of the East, and British manufacturers can compete successfully in the finer qualities only. In mechanical engineering, although a considerable quantity of machinery of all kinds is still imported into Japan, the numerous engineering establishments in the country now turn out all kinds of machines, not only of good quality, but also at very moderate prices. A beginning has been made in the production of iron and steel for shipbuilding purposes, although large quantities are still imported to meet the demands of their shipyards, in which vessels of the largest sizes are efficiently constructed, not only for the mercantile marine but also for the navy. In a recent article Lord Pirrie said, that in the matter of ordinary shipbuilding as opposed to naval shipbuilding, he does not fear German competition so much as that of Japan. He said: "The Japanese are doing wonders, and I am surprised that Britain is not more conscious of the severe competition—quite right and friendly competition, proper commercial competition, but still severe industrial competition—of Japan." We are aware, he continued, that our Far Eastern allies are building for themselves, and building very good ships too, and these ships are taking the place of

ours on the Japan-California route ; and it is not impossible that the Japanese may finally possess themselves of the great shipping routes of that part of the world. Lord Pirrie says we cannot really complain of that, but he thinks it surprising that in this country nobody ever speaks of the competition of Japan, it is always the competition of Germany that people prefer to discuss. The industrial development of Japan and China will certainly have a great effect on the economic conditions of Western countries.

The first question which naturally occurs to us is, What will be the effect of all this on the position of the Western workers? One of the salient features in the economic conditions of Japan is the increasing cost of production. Coal, for instance, which in 1903 cost 11s. 5d. per ton, had risen in 1907 to 13s. and 14s. per ton. Wages and the standard of living are far below those of the West, but they are rapidly rising ; and it is sometimes urged that the process will be one of levelling up the Eastern, not of cutting down the Western, wages. Rice, which forms the chief part of the Japanese workman's food, was recently at a record price, although it has since fallen somewhat. The price of tobacco, saké, sugar, and kerosine oil, all of which are consumed to a certain extent by the labouring classes, will advance in consequence of increased taxation. Side by side with this rise in the price of commodities there appears to be a growing taste for luxuries. The average day of a Japanese operative is one of ten hours, and usually a holiday is taken every seven or ten days ; but the intensity of work is not nearly so great as in Western countries. While the tendency of wages to rise to the standards of these countries cannot be disputed, the conditions of life and climate will prevent even a near approximation. The Western worker will therefore find himself in competition with rivals who have most of the economic advantages on their side except that of inherited skill, and the example of Japan shows that considerable skill can be acquired in all the ordinary industries in a generation or two. The simple and temperate habits

of the Easterners give them a great advantage in free competition with the workers of the West. The problems involved in these conditions will be found to be at the root of many of the difficulties between East and West. Whether they can be solved under a system of complete Free Trade and unlimited competition is a point on which many have very serious doubts.

The progress which the Japanese have made in industry and commerce has, of course, had a very great effect on the position of the foreign merchants in Japan and the firms which they represent or deal with in the West. It must be admitted that it was chiefly through their exertions that the foreign trade of the country was built up. They acted as agents both for the Japanese producers and for the foreign purchasers. Both as importers and as exporters their knowledge, experience, and capital were of great service in developing the trade of the country. For some years fortunes were rapidly made (and very often as rapidly lost); but as things developed the competition of the foreign middlemen with each other enabled the Japanese to obtain the very best terms, and profits were cut down to a very small margin. The foreign merchants were, however, always in a position of unstable equilibrium, and, as education developed in Japan and experience was gained in foreign methods of business, naturally the Japanese got more and more of the trade into their own hands. Every nation must desire to carry on its own commerce independently of foreign assistance; and, since a community of strangers is not to be found discharging similar functions in any Occidental land, the Japanese naturally would prefer that their land should not be exceptional in that respect, and they have been very successful in their efforts, an increasing amount of the foreign trade falling into their hands. The only excuse for business people to be in a country not their own is that they conduct some business which the natives cannot do so well. As the conditions change the foreigners must develop a line in which their competitors may follow at a distance, but

cannot catch up on them. It is, of course, impossible to give a definite opinion with regard to the future ; but those who have had ample opportunities of judging believe that the day is still distant when the Japanese tradesman can hope to establish with the Occident relations of such mutual intimacy and confidence as will enable him to take the place now occupied by the foreign middleman.

While it cannot be expected that the alliance between Great Britain and Japan should be allowed to interfere with the natural course of industry and commerce, or that an artificial set of conditions should be created in favour of the one or the other which are opposed to the economic conditions, still, if the alliance is carried out in the true spirit of friendship, there is one point on which there ought to be no difference of opinion, and that is, that the Governments of the two countries should, as far as possible, safeguard the welfare of the great body of their people, and not allow them to be exploited in the interests of capitalism. The conditions of labour, including wages and hours of work and all that affects the health and welfare of the workers, should be the first concern, and they should as far as possible be equalised, so that there may be free play of economic forces, which will decide whether it is in the interests of either country that any special industry or branch of commerce should be carried on in both, or whether it should be left to one of them. How far the policy which the Japanese Government has already to a certain extent adopted, namely, that of giving subsidies or protection to special industries, should be continued, is a subject on which there will be great differences of opinion, and meantime it would be out of place to attempt a discussion of all the aspects of the tariff question. It is, however, not expecting too much from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to hope that any question which may arise should be the subject of friendly conference and discussion, always keeping in mind the conditions which we have postulated, namely, the welfare of the great body of the people. In this way a great step would be taken in

the direction of international co-operation which would lead to mutual understanding and the reconciliation of the East and the West, not only in matters affecting material interests, but also the higher ethical interests which are fundamental alike to the welfare of both East and West.

CHAPTER VIII

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

FROM the rapid survey we have made of the problems which have arisen between Japan and the various countries with which she has come into contact, and of the influence her rise as a world-power has had on the countries of the East, it is evident that the most important question of modern times in the domain of practical politics is the future relation of the East and the West. Not only have the developments which have taken place in Japan been important in themselves and have profoundly affected the economic conditions of the Far East, but her example and her impact with other nations have created a movement which is extending to every Asiatic country, and the results are being felt in all quarters of the globe. As a Hindoo writer has expressed it: "Since Japan inflicted upon Russia a signal defeat, the entire Orient is pulsating with a new life. All Asia seems to be vibrant to follow in the wake of Japan." That there is evidence of unrest from Tokyo to Constantinople cannot be rudely denied, and the really interesting speculation concerns not the fact which is patent, but its hidden or, at all events, its still obscure causes. In a recent article in the *Spectator* the question is asked, "What has thrown so many and such quiescent peoples into an inexplicable fever of agitation? Why, for instance, are the Chinese, who are independent, and the Persians, who are the vainest of mankind, and the Ottomans, who are a dominant race, and must lose their

dominance in any great change, all persuading themselves that they need and will have radical reforms? Is it really the fact that the strength developed by reformed Japan has lifted the depression of centuries from all Asiatics, and excited them to an imitation which must of course finally break up the ancient quietude? We cannot answer the question, but we can testify that one of the ablest of Anglo-Indian officials was startled and bewildered by finding that in remote villages north of Kashmir, and in the large valley of the Brahmaputra, every Japanese victory was welcomed by an illumination. The fact is often questioned, but there undoubtedly is a comity of Asia, which is at least as operative as the comity of Europe. Or is it possible that an emotion akin to the one which produced the Crusades, and, though not so directly connected with any religious impulse, still fatal to quiescence, is sweeping through Asia from Nagasaki to the Bosphorus, stirring up races which for ages have slept the sleep of content, but are now determined to advance upon some path, mental or physical, which they think open? The thing occurred when the barbarians rose in Rome, and again when science in its second revival told men that the sun, in spite of the evidence of their eyes, did not rise and set. What the result will be we know as little as our readers; but of this we feel assured that the relations of the continents will be permanently altered, or, it may be more exact to write, the widespread effort to alter that relation will call upon the white man for new exertions, and, above all, for new and careful meditation. That we of Europe are the superiors we all firmly believe; but we assume too readily that this superiority is acknowledged, and are at once too confused and too presumptuous as to its ultimate reasons."

This movement is being watched by the peoples of the West with considerable anxiety, as it threatens to upset the conditions which have existed for generations and which have allowed them to assume a monopoly not only of political power, but also to a considerable extent of economic

advantages in many of the countries of the East, which had come to be looked upon as the natural fields of exploitation for the adventurous spirits of the West. What is at present called "unrest" in Eastern countries is simply the spirit of the age making itself felt in national conditions. It is not to be put aside by calling it names, or by sneering at those who are taking an active part in it. The movement which is being produced must therefore be carefully studied, so that it may be understood that the forces behind it guide in a direction which will lead to the real welfare of the peoples concerned.

In view of these conditions it is desirable, in this concluding chapter, to consider some of the general questions arising out of our previous studies, as well as some of the more important problems brought into existence by the developments which have taken place in the Far East. Japan seems to be the centre of a mysterious influence which has affected the spirit of every Eastern country. Moreover, in a sense, it has almost become the centre of international diplomacy from which treaties have been made which directly affect the countries of the Far East and indirectly almost all the countries of the world. Many special problems have arisen which will require both knowledge and wisdom for their solution. The peoples of the West must recognise that it is their duty to reconsider their attitude towards those of the East, for in the past that has been, to a large extent, founded on ignorance and an assumed superiority which recent events have shown most distinctly not to be warranted.

In a previous chapter an indication was given of the results of the work of the engineer on the practical politics of the world. It would be interesting, if space Science and social organisation. allowed, to trace the effects of science and economic conditions on the ideas regarding the nature of social organisation. Meantime, however, a few remarks on the subject are all that are possible.

The developments of science and the consequent in-

dustrial revolution have been causing a movement of reconstruction which is changing our social structure and many of our deeper practical activities. Its effects are seen not only in industry and commerce, but also in literature, politics, art, legislation, in our conception of national life, and even in our fundamental conceptions of religion and philosophy. In non-scientific and pre-Darwinian days individualism of a very narrow type characterised the writings of philosophers and the measures of statesmen. *Laissez faire* was the first principle of government, and it was held that the interests of the individual in the pursuit of his own ends in competition with his fellows was coincident with the highest good of society. Actual conditions showed the falseness of this assumption, and gradually we have witnessed an extension of the functions of the State, which show that it is being recognised that the highest good of the community is not and cannot possibly be reached by the unregulated competition between private interests. Philosophers and statesmen are beginning to recognise, although in a somewhat indistinct manner, the organic unity of the State and the necessity for individual welfare as a condition precedent to national welfare. Stress of competition is rapidly bringing about industrial and commercial combinations, and the working classes are endeavouring by means of co-operation to save themselves from being engulfed in the capitalistic abyss. Efficiency of the highest type is being insisted upon, so that the struggle may be continued, for extinction waits on the side which is the less efficient. The struggle, however, is no longer between individuals and private firms, or even large trusts, but is rapidly becoming international. Not only do tariffs protect the interests of the different nations, but in many cases national resources are being directly used for national purposes, and thus not infrequently help in the international competition. How far the process ought to be continued is one of the problems which is at the present time receiving great attention in all industrial countries.

Before we can apply the lessons of the history of the past to the probabilities of the future, we must take into account the great changes which have taken place in the conditions of almost every country in the world during the past century, and especially during the latter part of it. We have noted the effect of the work of the engineer¹ in revolutionising economic and social conditions, but an even greater force is at work through the awakening of the democracies, which are beginning not only to recognise their power, but also to demand their rights. They are no longer the mere tools of kings and governments. They can make and unmake them, and it may be taken for granted that they will not hesitate to unmake them when they attempt to carry out a policy which adds to the great burdens of the people. The political ambitions and national rivalries of the past have been brought about chiefly by the action of the aristocratic, the bureaucratic, and the governing classes. That influence is rapidly declining, and the futility of much that has hitherto engaged their attention is being recognised. What have hitherto been considered national destinies have for the most part been the outcome of personal and national ambitions, although, no doubt, some of them have served a world-purpose. They, however, now require to be reconsidered and national policy revised in the light of recent developments and altered conditions. When a large part of the globe was still unpopulated, and unappropriated by any great Power, civilised peoples had their duties towards the lower races which occupied parts of it, and in rendering available the national resources which were lying undeveloped. Too often this latter function has been performed in a thoroughly selfish manner, and in many cases the natives have been made to disappear off the face of the earth. In others they have been transformed into bad imitations of the peoples of the West. In few cases have the real capacities of the native populations been recognised and taken advantage of.

¹ Cf. p. 4.

In the future the peoples of the West must entirely change their point of view in their dealings with those of the East. Mutual advantage and friendly co-operation must take the place of selfish aggression and exploitation. There will still be a certain amount of international competition, but its methods and above all its spirit must be different from that which has hitherto prevailed. Reason and morality must take the place of armed force and aggressive selfishness.

What may be called the scientific view of a nation is that of an organised whole, kept up to a high state of internal efficiency by education and physical training.

These would fit it for the contest with external nations in the struggle for trade-routes and for the sources of raw materials and food supply,

International
competition and
the Evolution
Theory.

for we may take it for granted that such a struggle will continue. Its nature and amount, however, will determine the state of civilisation of the nations concerned. The national spirit is not a thing to be ashamed of, as the educated man seems occasionally to hold. If that spirit be the mere excrescence of the music-hall, or an ignorant assertion of superiority to the foreigner, it may be ridiculous, it may even be nationally dangerous; but, if the national spirit takes the form of a strong feeling of the importance of organising the nation as a whole, of making its social and economic conditions such that it is able to do its work in the world and meet its fellows without hesitation in the field and in the market, then it seems to me a wholly good spirit indeed, one of the highest forms of social, that is, moral, instinct. The ultimate solution of the problems involved must wait on the moral and social development of mankind, through a rational system of education which takes full advantage of the lessons of experience.

As the standard of morality, intelligence, and conditions of life continue to improve, we may hope that the conditions of the struggle for individual and national existence will be modified, for the political, social, and ethical development of mankind is largely a record of the endeavour to

place the struggle for existence under regulation. In every department of human activity co-operative or collective effort is rapidly taking the place of anarchic individualism, and real progress is measured by the growing control of ethical principles over the forms of selfishness, egotism, unscrupulousness, and cruelty which are called forth by unlimited and heartless competition. With nations, as with individuals, progress consists mainly in the growing supremacy of law, order, and morality over the excess of the self-regarding principle in which the individual or national struggle has its root. As civilisation advances the struggle for existence is therefore not abolished. It is continued under more complex conditions, on a wider scale, over larger areas, by greater masses of organised men, with mightier weapons and vaster resources and above all with nobler ideas of the meaning and objects of life, both individual and national.

When the process has developed a little further, the dread of the *name* of socialism will disappear, for it will be found that economic forces and a higher ideal of civic and national life will have brought about the *thing* itself. In Old Japan, society was a rude form of collectivism, under which the means of life were guaranteed to every member of the community, and life was free from the harassing worries which are common in the West, and, although comforts and luxuries were somewhat rare, they were not missed, for after all the simpler life is the happier people are. In New Japan, as we have seen, a new collectivism is developing and the functions of the State are increasing in many directions. In a former chapter¹ we considered shortly the causes which had led to the success of Japan and had hastened her evolution in a most remarkable manner, and her example is calculated to give the nations of the West many useful lessons. The most important of these is that, when the soul of a people rises to a new ideal of national life, it is able to hasten the realisation of that ideal by the full employment of the collective resources of the nation, not only as regards

¹ P. 95.

material development, but also much more in all that pertains to intellectual and moral welfare. National competition thus, to a large extent, takes the place of individual competition with all its waste of means and energy. One of the most important problems which the countries of the West have to face is the decision of the place which the State ought to take on the advancement of national progress. Not only do opinions differ on this subject in the various countries of the world, but also in the different parts of the British Empire, which rest on the free assent of its leading members, and therefore in all matters pertaining to trade and internal economy they must exercise perfect freedom. The problem as regards India and other parts of the Empire which have not this freedom is one requiring very careful consideration. One thing is quite clear, namely, that the welfare of the millions of that vast Dependency cannot be sacrificed to the supposed needs of any other part of the Empire.

The ideal of international free trade is intended to allow the free play of economic forces so that each country may produce what it is economically best fitted to produce. It also involves the free intercourse of the peoples of the various nations. When men and social conditions have arrived at a higher state of development that ideal will, at least, be approximated to, but for a long time it must have many limitations the nature and extent of which will depend on the conditions of the nations concerned. The conditions of Great Britain seem to require as much freedom as possible for its trade. Although no longer the workshop of the world, its national position depends to a large extent on its foreign trade. Nothing in the shape of protection can even be thought of, until fundamental reforms are made which would prevent any measures which might be adopted from enriching certain classes at the expense of the great body of the community and especially of those who could least afford it. In the case of the British Colonies there are great differences of opinion and practice, although there is a growing desire for an arrangement which will bind together the various

parts of the Empire with common economic interests. Whether that can be done without causing hardship to some of the constituent parts, and without raising the opposition and hatred of the other countries of the world, and thus causing their foreign trade to be lost to Britain, is a question which must be very carefully considered. We have seen what Japan is doing in the matter, and probably our statesmen may get a few lessons from her example. It cannot be doubted that unlimited "cosmopolitan competition allows each country to exert a deleterious influence on its neighbours ; the strong to depress the weak, and the poor to drag down others to their own level," and that, therefore, "it is the task of Imperial administration to endeavour to give fair play to all these various elements, so that the best elements of each race may be brought into play."¹ The commercial intercourse of the countries of Asia with those of the West or with peoples of Western origin (as in Australia) is complicated by the racial question and all the economic problems connected with it. Ardent free-traders should therefore recognise that tariff arrangements *may* be necessary, not only on account of the economic conditions of the countries concerned, but also as a check to the competition of races with a lower standard of life, not only material but also moral. The latter does not depend entirely or even chiefly on cheap production. We have made a fetish of trade and overlooked the fact that it is not an end in itself but only a means to an end, namely, a high standard of national life, which necessarily involves a high standard of individual life in all its aspects. This, indeed, is the chief end of man, and should be the supreme object of all his efforts.

There are other aspects of some general questions which seem to require a short notice before entering on the considerations of those of a more special nature.

Nationalism and
internationalism.

Political philosophers in many ages have speculated on the possibility of an organisation among nations for the preservation of peace and the advancement of

¹ Cunningham, *Free Trade Movement*, p. 163.

common welfare, but for the most part their ideas were shaped by the conditions under which they lived, and they were content to picture a hierarchy of States conforming on a higher scale to the order within the single state. Although this was an internationalism of a kind, it was not always based on a conception of equality of nations. The period of great intellectual and spiritual uplifting which took place at the end of the eighteenth century, that is to say, the eve of the French Revolution, "found every wise man in Europe — Lessing, Kant, Goethe, Rousseau, Lavater, Condorcet, Priestly, Gibbon, Franklin—more of a citizen of the world than of any particular country. Goethe confessed that he did not know what patriotism was, and was glad to be without it. Cultured men of all countries were at home in polite society everywhere. Kant was immensely more interested in the events of Paris than in the life of Prussia. Italy and Germany were geographical expressions; those countries were filled with small States in which there was no political life, but in which there was much interest in the general progress of culture. The Revolution itself was at bottom also human and cosmopolitan. It is, as Lamartine said, 'a date in the human mind,' and it is because of that fact that all the carping of critics like Taine cannot prevent us from seeing that the character of the men who led the great movements of the Revolution can never obliterate the momentous nature of the Titanic strife. The soldiers of the Revolution who, barefooted and ragged, drove the insolent reactionaries from the soil of France were fighting not merely for some national cause, but for a cause dimly perceived to be the cause of general mankind. With all its crudities and imperfections, the idea of the Revolution was that of a conceived body of Right in which all men should share."¹

The growth of industrialism and commercialism, and the consequent development of the competitive spirit, has damped, and in many cases even extinguished, the enthusiasm for noble ideals. The result has been an excess of self-

¹ W. Clarke, *Progressive Review*, February 1897.

consciousness, and a very narrow materialism. The "fight for markets" has become the chief article in the political creed of many people, and has to a large extent not only changed the whole art of diplomacy, but has erected national aggrandisement without pity or scruple as the conscious motive force of foreign policy. The effects of what may be called the "re-discovery of the East," combined with a development of the national consciences of the peoples of the West, are still at work, and a change is taking place in the point of view of international relations, and it is gradually being recognised that as ethical philosophy is no longer purely individualistic, so in like manner practical politics can no longer be purely national, and that the only ultimate solution of international differences will come when religion, in the broad sense of that term, is no longer sectional or national but international. That, of course, does not mean that the details of religious dogma and practice will be the same all the world over, but that all peoples and nations will have recognised, to a certain extent at least, the meaning and objects of life. Those of the East, while not forgetting the ends of life, will take advantage of modern science and its applications to machinery to enable them to use the means of life, so that they may live the fullest life possible, while those of the West will not concentrate all their energy in the struggle for the means of life and all that those involve, but will use them only so far as they advance the real ends of life. When East and West are united in a common aim all international difficulties will disappear. The internationalism for which we ought to strive is not an organisation which involves a dull, dead uniformity in which all individuality disappears, but a confederation of strong, independent nations, fearless of oppression of any kind, entering into close commercial and social relations with each other; that thus, by the practice of material aid upon the plane of physical life, they may lay the foundation of a higher intellectual and spiritual fellowship. It takes all kinds of people to make a world, and

each has its special function to perform ; but with growing intelligence and knowledge not only will the West understand the East and the East understand the West, but all countries in the world will recognise the place which they have to fill, and this not in any narrow spirit of nationalism, but in the broad spirit of brotherly internationalism, which, while conserving what is good in each country, will use it to advance the welfare of all. While we may dream of a cosmopolitanism which would involve perfect freedom of intercourse and trade with equal rights for all the peoples of the world, we must recognise that, while that may be the ultimate solution of the problems involved, it will be possible only when men and conditions have very much improved. Mazzini held, and we believe rightly, that the divinely indicated nation stood between the individual man and the unimaginable multitude of the human race, and it was thus "the intermediate term between humanity and the individual"; and man could only attain to the conception of humanity by picturing it to himself as a mosaic of homogeneous nations. "Nations are the citizens of humanity, as individuals are the citizens of the nation"; and again, "The pact of humanity cannot be signed by individuals, but only by free and equal peoples, possessing a name, a banner, and the consciousness of a distinct existence."

Thoughtful men and women recognise that modern conditions, in almost every part of the world, bring about a process of social levelling, which, although good from some points of view, tends to reduce all to a common mediocrity and to prevent the rise of geniuses and of great men who would mould the destinies of the world. With all our boasted advances we seem to feel on all sides the pressure of small intelligences, no doubt honourable and upright and furnished with practical common-sense, but absolutely impervious to every great idea and to the highest type of culture. Reasoning from analogy we may, therefore, well ask ourselves the question, What would be the result on the civilisation of the world if there were perfectly free intercourse

between the nations which have very different standards of life, not only economic but also intellectual and ethical? It is the fear that it would not only bring about many serious political problems, but would even cause the destruction of our civilisation, that is at the bottom of the difficulties which have arisen over Asiatic immigration into countries inhabited chiefly by people of Western origin, although it must be admitted that in some cases mean, selfish economic reasons and political intrigues seem to be the immediate reasons why they deem it necessary to take steps to preserve the advance which they have made. The decision as to what these steps should be may probably be the most difficult problems before the statesmen of the future. Their actions will, no doubt, depend on their philosophy of life and the position which they believe human beings hold in the plan of the universe. In trying to ascertain that plan they may obtain more help from Eastern than from Western thought, as a conception of the former, when thoroughly grasped, must entirely change our views of life and our ideas of its ethical values. Meantime, however, we need only consider the possibilities of the not very distant future, and indicate the line of procedure which seems likely to lead to a solution of the problems involved.

My revered master, the late Professor Edward Caird, shortly before his death put in a very definite form some of the general ideas which he imparted to his students many years ago. He said: "We are learning to substitute for a vague cosmopolitanism, for a vague impersonal philanthropy, the idea of an organism whose parts are bound to each other by domestic affection, by civic and national patriotism, by a multitude of special ties and affinities which reach beyond even the limits of the nation. It is true that this still remains, in great part, an idea; for, though there are many interests of science, of literature, and of commerce, which have become cosmopolitan; though the influence of the opinion of one nation upon another is continually increasing, and tends to make the unity of mankind an effective bond, yet we are still far from

anything like a world-state, or even a confederation of nations, which can suppress and overpower their mutual jealousy and hostility. And even among the members of the same nation the divisions of class from class are often so strong as almost to overcome the sense of national unity. Still, in spite of all this, the idea of unity is continually gaining ground, and there is an increasing desire in the best men of all nations to strengthen and invigorate the feeling of brotherhood and solidarity both within their own narrower community and without it. That is the aim which the best of us are now pursuing, and which all must, therefore, one day pursue; for the spirit of the wise and good is a prophetic spirit.

"With this increasing desire to make our national and our human brotherhood real, there grows an increasing resolve to make it real *here* and *now* in this world. We are not content any longer to make low demands upon this life, and to regard it simply as a passage to another; we are not satisfied with a gospel of despair for this world and hope for the next any more than we are content with the Greek doctrine that the best things in life are for the few, and that the rest must be their instruments or slaves. . . . We may find in this great demand upon life, and especially in the fact that it is a demand for all and not for some, a ground of hope that a better day for humanity is dawning—a day in which our morality shall be felt less as a mere restraint and more as an inspiring power, and in which religion shall cease to be to many only a consolation for defeat in this world, and become a living faith in the coming of the kingdom of God upon earth."¹

Such an organisation of internationalism as is here indicated would not altogether eliminate the element of competition, but in "an organism whose parts are bound to each other by domestic affection, by civic and national patriotism, by a multitude of special ties and affinities which reach beyond even the limits of the nation," it would take the shape of friendly rivalry and mutual emulation, a state

¹ *Lay Sermons*, pp. 61-63.

of affairs which existed in Old Japan during the whole of the Tokugawa Shogunate. For long ages, no doubt, racial distinctions and nationalities must, to a very considerable extent, be preserved, as a vague, indefinite cosmopolitanism would soon lead to the social degradation of the nations which had attained a high degree of civilisation. Economic and ethnic problems will therefore require very careful study, and the practical measures to be adopted must, in great part, be left to the nationalities concerned. On these, no doubt, differences of opinion will exist, but they should never result in a conflict of arms which would solve nothing, but on the contrary only intensify the difficulties. The friendly rivalry of race with race will maintain the efficiency not only of the nations as a whole, but also of the individuals of which they are composed. Free communication among the peoples of the world, and the development of education and friendly feeling, will remove many causes of misunderstanding which at present exist and will no doubt bring about a fusion of the best of the various countries through intermarriages. A healthy public opinion (strengthened if necessary by legislative enactments) would prevent the deterioration of the enlightened races through unsuitable marriages, for it would be recognised that the scientific view of a nation is that of an organised whole kept up to a higher pitch of internal efficiency by insuring that its numbers are substantially recruited from the better stocks. No doubt, this would raise some difficult problems, both internally and externally, but they must be faced if civilisation is to develop or even continue. Their solution will require not only all the knowledge to be gained from science and experience, but also that tolerance and common-sense which should be the practical side of ethics. Unfortunately no adequate doctrine of civilisation is taught among us, and the greater part of the science which is taught only penetrates either in the form of useful information, or else in that of a negative doctrine opposed to religion. As itself a main part of religion, as the grand revelation of God in these later times, supplementing rather than superseding

older revelations, it remains almost as unknown as in the dark ages. Still less known perhaps is that doctrine of the gradual development of human society which alone can explain to us the present state of affairs, give us the clue to history, save us from political aberrations, and point out the direction of progress. In the universities, colleges, and schools of Japan, subjects of this kind are more thoroughly taught than they are in this country, and in the newspapers and journals they are discussed with an intelligence and thoroughness which would astonish many people in the West. The Japanese are thus proving that they are striving to place their civilisation on a secure foundation.

Japan affords an example of a highly developed national consciousness, and at the same time an understanding of the conditions necessary for a rational internationalism. She has shown that the chief condition which is necessary for national greatness is that the impulse must come from within and not from without, and she has been extremely jealous of everything which affected her honour and her national development. It is for China to consider how far she is able to follow her example. As we have pointed out in the previous chapter, the conditions of the other countries in the East are very different from those of Japan, and their national evolution must therefore be slower and suited to the changing conditions.

The international problem of to-day is the reconciliation of national wants and aspirations with the requirements of humanity. We live in a world of steel, and the ideal of nationality, for our generation at any rate, and probably for some generations more, will be supreme over the humanitarian ideal of the French Revolution and later. As humanity develops and the nations of the world come to know each other better that ideal will be approximated to, but the whole tendency of the present moment is towards the formation of nations which are compact and could be wielded so as to carry out a common policy. The English speaking peoples in all parts of the world are sufficiently

homogeneous in nature and similar in economic conditions to form a federation, which, while friendly to all the other nations of the world and co-operating with them in trade and industry, would be able not only to maintain its present standard of living and of civilisation, but, by the fuller use of its resources for the benefit of the great masses of its people, to advance their welfare not merely physically but also intellectually and morally.

The contrast of national and international as distinguished from individual ethics is a very interesting subject on which much might be said, but meantime it can only be touched. We must recognise that government, being a practical business dealing with a thousand diverse considerations and conflicting claims, can never treat any single right as absolute. International law is, therefore, simply the codification of the actual custom of nations, and the function of international lawyers is to give coherent expression to the best principles which the common-sense of civilised governments recognises. In discussing this subject the late Mr. Gladstone said: "You may call the rule of nations vague and untrustworthy. I find it, on the contrary, a great and noble monument of human wisdom, founded on the combined dictates of sound experience, a precious inheritance bequeathed to us by the generations that have gone before us, and a firm foundation on which we must take care to build, whatever it may be our part to add to their acquisitions, if indeed we wish to promote the peace and welfare of the world."¹ There will be, no doubt, in national and international affairs a conflict of rights, just as there is often a conflict of duties in private life, and this makes it impossible to lay down, with precision, the rule of duty applicable to any particular case, but that rule, once ascertained, is binding. There is nothing more inexact than to establish absolute axioms in politics, as the idea, and consequently the power, of civil society changes with the epochs. Renan in his *Cahiers de Jeunesse* truly says: "Who knows if some day international law will not

¹ Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, p. 370.

have extended its limits in such a way that every nation will be as sensitive as an individual would be as to what is going on in other nations, so that any injustice may arm all nations, and that this should be considered as a progress achieved?" Meantime, it is the duty of each nation and of every individual in it to keep this ideal in view, and to help to attain it by extending the reign of law from individuals to nations.

The real religion of people is shown not by what they believe they believe, but by the acts of their daily lives, not merely individual but also collective, for men will allow to be done in the name of a company or a community what they would be ashamed to do as individuals. This has been very often the case in our dealings with Eastern peoples, who are not long in coming to the conclusion that the religion of the West is used not so much for the regeneration of the world as a mere form to cover the sins and shortcomings of its professors. The most thoughtful among these peoples observe, at first with a considerable amount of surprise, and then as their knowledge and experience increases with unconcealed contempt, the fact that the greatness of modern Christian nations is usually measured, not by the intellectual and moral standards of their people, but by the extent of the industry and trade and by their ability to carry on war successfully. The size and efficiency of their armaments and their ability to slaughter the people of these nations with whose rulers they differ on some point, seem to be the chief concerns of statesmen. In their national policy war almost invariably has commercial prosperity, if not supremacy, as its basis and aim.

Aggressive
commercialism.

The clergymen who are ever ready to pray for the success of the arms of their country, without inquiring into the moral justification of their acts, are beginning to perceive that, after all, they may be praying for the success of the devil's work. The last Bampton lecturer, in the course of his inquiry into the reasons for the apparent failure of Christianity

as a general rule of life and conduct, said: "In a practical age wars are mostly fought for markets, and the gigantic cost of armaments has made kings and statesmen more than ever dependent on the help and goodwill of great financiers. And trade has all the spirit and some of the forms of war. The trader does not commonly go forth with drums beating and colours flying as he did in the great days of the Spanish Main, when there was no peace south of the Line. The age may be past in which our own East India Company and the Netherlands Company were independent polities, with armies and fleets and ambassadors of their own, who treated on equal terms with Eastern princes and commonwealths, or fought them as seemed best in their own eyes, and dealt summarily with interlopers in their seas as pirates and outlaws. But the spirit of the old adventurers is not dead. It is not so long since we saw a Chartered Company levying war in form on its own account. And a strong and ambitious nation is always ready by war, or diplomacy based on war, to open ports and markets for its own merchants, or keep them closed against their rivals, and sometimes to force their commodities upon unwilling customers. And even where there is no question of armed intervention, trade is still the counterpart of war in its merciless dealing with opponents, its indifference to the welfare of non-combatants, and its calculated sacrifice of the rank and file of its own armies in the cause of ultimate success. Its methods can only be described in metaphors of battlefield and siege; for it is essentially a truceless fight for what both sides desire and only one can possess."¹

It is evident, even from the very imperfect sketch which we have given of the circumstances of the contact between the East and the West, that practically all the difficulties which have arisen had their origin in economic causes which were brought about by an aggressive commercialism which attempted to annex as much as possible of the commerce of other countries and that without much regard to the

¹ Peile, *The Reproach of the Gospels*, pp. 76-77.

ethical principles which should guide not only individuals but also nations in their dealings with each other. A distinguished American writer who has made a special study of affairs in the Far East, after a careful examination of facts, especially those connected with Asia, has come to the conclusion that : " In the general progress of events it has come to pass that the commerce of the world—which implies as a main incident the utilisation of the sea, the chief medium of commerce—has become the prize for which all the great states of the world are in competition. Some, possibly, do not expect ever to be leaders ; but all either wish a greater share than they now have, or at least to preserve their present proportion. This includes not only the power to produce—mainly an internal question—but the power to exchange freely throughout as large a section of the world's population as can be reached. In this competition the most of states are, as a matter of policy, unwilling to trust entirely to the operation of what we may call—not quite accurately—natural forces. The race, as hitherto run, or the particular conditions of some more favoured nations—the United States, for example, so richly dowered with the raw material of wealth, and with energy to use it—have resulted in giving some a start which puts the remainder at a disadvantage, if the issue is left to purely commercial causes ; to superiority, in quantity or quality of production, for instance, or to greater ability of management, either in intelligence or economy. Issues determined in this manner are more solid, but they require time longer than impatience wishes to concede ; hence the desire to hasten prosperity by extending territorial control and reserving to oneself commercial advantage in the regions mastered. This result may be reached either by direct annexation, or by preponderant political influence ; but these both mean, ultimately, physical force, exerted or potential, and this generates opposing force, averse from allowing its own people to be deprived by such means. Thus competition becomes conflict, the instrument of which is not commercial emulation, but military power

—land or sea.”¹ This policy evidently leads to a great increase of armaments which continually threaten the ‘peace of the world. Never at any time in the history of the nations of the West did the question of armaments demand such serious attention as at present.

It should be noted that commercial aggression may take many forms, both direct and indirect, and that the latter are the more dangerous because they conceal the causes of the difficulties. The influence of financiers on international affairs is becoming increasingly great, and indeed in some respects the government of the world has fallen into their hands. Their interests are served to a large extent by the Press, a considerable part of which is now controlled by men who have no object but to make money or to increase their influence for the attainment of the objects of their ambition. The problem of the domination of the capitalists and of the Press is one which must be faced if the welfare of the great body of the people is to be considered. When the complete history of the recent war between Japan and Russia is written, it will probably be found that the chief cause of the Russian aggression which led to it was the unscrupulous conduct of self-seeking financiers and company promoters, who were able to cause the advice of the Czar’s military and naval advisers to be set aside, with the result that the ruler who had posed as the great apostle of peace allowed his country to drift into the most terrible war which has ever occurred in the history of the world.

The immense armaments on the Continent have been brought about by many causes. The results of the Franco-German War and the conditions of peace were such as to keep alive the feeling of hostility between France and Germany. From the point of view of the higher life of the nations they have been most disastrous to Germany. The armed nation has produced the most rampant materialism of life and thought, and the country has become the arena of a mighty scramble for material good. Idealism has given

¹ Mahan, *The Problem of Asia*, p. 158.

place to materialism, and industrial progress has been bought at a mighty cost. My friend the late William Clarke truly said: "Gone is that old German contentment and charming simplicity of life; gone are the 'peace, the fearful innocence, and the pure religion breathing household laws.' Goethe has given place to Krupp; the memory of Lessing is all but buried under the successes of Baron Stumm. Philosophy has degenerated into arid criticism; and even in music Wagner has left no successor, the fountain of superb musical genius having apparently ceased to flow." The present feeling of hostility between Great Britain and Germany, so far as it exists, is caused by rivalry in international trade. No doubt the Germans will say that Great Britain is as much to blame as Germany, and probably they are not far wrong, but these considerations prove that international problems of this kind will only ultimately be solved by a change of the point of view of life and its meaning. Material things must be sought only in so far as they help us to realise the objects of life, and this as regards not only personal, but also national and international affairs. No solution of the problems involved is possible until friendly rivalry and co-operation take the place of the present international scramble, which not only causes great waste of wealth, but is very often the cause of war, with all its disastrous results. The realisation of international co-operation (or socialism, if we choose so to call it) is still a dream in the distant future, but its ideals should be kept in view as affording the only ultimate solution of international difficulties. It will come not by fate but by will, and hence the absolute necessity for education and religion in the highest sense of these terms. Economic forces are powerful, but they must be subjected to organisation, control, design, and the disciplined will, so that they may ultimately lead to the freedom which is the dream of the thoughtful anarchist. The ideals and methods of the East must be blended with those of the West, and the means of life must be used in a rational way to attain the highest objects of life, both personal and national. Professing

Christians might consider whether any country has yet proved its possession of a Christian conscience and a Christian sense of responsibility. A study of history would show them that international intercourse began in predatory practice, then it became a legal contract for purposes of business. A great deal that is questionable, however, can be done within the four corners of the law. The highest stage of morality will be reached only when commerce is carried on in friendly co-operation, and when nations deal with each other in the true spirit of brotherly love.

Of all the questions between the East and the West, the one which is most pressing in the domain of practical politics and which will require the most careful study in all its aspects, is that of the immigration of Asiatics to the countries of the West and their dependencies. In previous chapters some of the special problems which have arisen have been noted, and now we will consider how far their study will help to a solution of the more general question.

The treatment which the peoples of the West and of Western origin give to those who come from any part of Asia, and especially to those of the immigrant class, is probably the best test of international religion which is to be found. It is absurd to pretend to believe in a doctrine of international brotherhood, or a universal brotherhood of humanity without distinction of race, sex, caste, or colour, and yet when practical problems arise, to allow irrational passions and selfish interests to prevent them being considered in a reasonable manner, and an honest attempt being made, if not of a complete solution, at least of arrangements which will lead in that direction. Racial differences have been caused by isolation under local conditions, and through ignorance of the physical, mental, and moral qualities of the peoples of other countries; and it is too much to expect that the sudden contact of races living under different economic conditions can be brought about without raising very difficult problems. Those affecting Japan have, as we

have seen, on more than one occasion reached an acute stage, and it is with them that we are at present chiefly concerned, although, as we have noted, other Eastern countries are involved. Whatever the ultimate position may be, we may rest assured that the Western nations of the world cannot permanently maintain a position of monopoly for themselves in the West and of free competition in the East.

The economic aspects of the problems involved should be considered first, as, according to the principles we have mentioned as necessary for national welfare, each nation must have the right to determine its economic conditions in so far as these can be affected by legislation and administration. Among the international economic problems at present confronting statesmen in different parts of the world are those arising from the different standards of life which have been maintained by races in different levels of culture, which, after having lived segregated lives practically uninfluenced by one another, are suddenly brought into the closest economic relations.

The normal or natural emigration of working people from one land to another would of itself evoke little or no resentment, as the changes would be so slow that people would be able to adapt themselves to them without any trouble. When, however, the feverish and greedy spirit of capitalism or of empire intervenes, and large numbers of low wage-workers are imported into any country, the reduction of the standard of wages inevitably incites and intensifies racial feeling and causes hatred. This is especially true when it is evident that the importation takes place in the interest of a comparatively small body of capitalists. The difficulty is increased when emigration companies are organised by men whose only object is to extract as much profit as possible out of the transactions. This was the case in Japan, and moreover these companies co-operated with the capitalists in America, whose interests as a rule were opposed to those of labour. There were, until recently, about thirty such companies in Japan, and they sent large numbers of

Japanese to Hawaii, North and South America, China, and Korea, and the business was carried on on a very large scale. No doubt there are localities where the conditions are such that these operations not only create no difficulties, but are a decided advantage to all concerned, but these are very sparsely populated, and racial conflict is not very likely to be engendered. A sudden mixture of races is, however, always attended with very serious difficulties. In every case the matter should be the subject of mutual agreement between the responsible governments, and should not be allowed to fall into the hands of capitalists, who only consider their own interests. In settled countries emigrants should be required to submit themselves to the economic conditions existing in their various trades and occupations. This latter stipulation, however, raises many very difficult questions, and it is doubtful if they can be solved under the existing social and economic organisation and with the prevailing spirit which makes the accumulation of wealth the chief end of life.

By a curious irony of fate, at the time when there was trouble in the United States and Canada over Japanese emigrants, there was also trouble in the south of Japan over Chinese emigrants who had been imported by a Japanese contractor to carry out work of some kind, as they worked for lower wages than were paid to Japanese who performed similar work. All such emigration into Japan must be carried out under definite government regulations and with the consent of the local authorities, both of which conditions had been ignored in this case. The incident will be useful in impressing on the Japanese the fact that there are, at least, two sides to the problem, and no doubt will lead them to consider what their action would be if some of the superfluous millions of China were to rush to Japan. Their problem would be almost entirely economic, as the race feeling is not very strong, and therefore it would be much simpler than that of America or Australia. Still it would be sufficiently serious to cause the Government to take steps

to meet it, and these no doubt would be in the direction of restricting the emigration within very definite limits.

In their negotiations with the United States and Canada the Japanese Government acted with their usual good sense. While maintaining their claim to equality in the treatment of their people wherever they go, they recognised the opposing racial and economic forces, and they have agreed to restrict their numbers in the United States and Canada to those engaged in business or education, and others to whom no objection can be offered; and, if this policy were also carried out by China, India, and other Asiatic countries, no serious difficulties would arise. In discussing these subjects with my Japanese friends, who occupy positions of influence in their country, I have urged that they should show that they were too proud of the honour of the Japanese race to allow any of them to be used by Western races for the performance of menial work, and they have all agreed with me, and this consideration seems to have been what chiefly weighed with the Government in its negotiations with the United States and Canada.

Under strict limitations and proper conditions a freer intercourse between Asia, Europe, America, and Australasia would be a great advantage not only from a social, but also from an economic point of view, and there should be no difficulty in making arrangements which would be in the interests of the countries concerned. It is to be hoped that no narrow trade unionism will prevent this natural solution being brought about. There is much work to be done in the world, and there is room for a great variety of workers in countries which at present are sparsely occupied, and of which no race has a right to claim a monopoly. The responsible Government of each country has a right, however, to make and enforce reasonable arrangements for the maintenance of the standard of physical conditions, by establishing and enforcing a minimum standard of sanitation, housing, and remuneration, and probably also a certain standard of education in the language and literature of the country.

That being done, the results might safely be left to work out according to economic conditions, which should be subject to as few restrictions as possible. Many of the economic difficulties between the workers of the East and the West arise from the fact that the former live simple and sober lives, while not infrequently the latter spend a considerable part of their incomes in ways which do not lead to efficiency, health, or happiness. It is not sufficient, therefore, to measure the "standard of living" by the wages of the workers, a great deal more depends on the manner in which they are spent.

On the continent of America and in Australasia racial antipathy to Japanese is very strong, and even in China it is beginning to make itself felt. While this is to be regretted, it cannot be ignored in considering the relations of East and West. To try to argue it down or to style it mere prejudice does not assist in the solution of the problems involved, and any attempt at force on either side would only intensify it. At the same time, under cover of racial antipathy there is concealed an economic motive which, in itself, is probably sufficient to account for the greater part of the difficulties which arise. White labour in America and in Australasia is seriously afraid of Asiatic competition, both in skilled and in unskilled occupations, and the trade union influence is, no doubt, either directly or indirectly responsible for much of the violence which has occurred. There are many countries in the world where more labour is needed to develop their resources and even to carry on efficiently the work which is at present required, and this fact must be recognised not only by the Governments concerned but also by the labour unions. If an attempt be made to exclude Japanese and Chinese entirely, or even to restrict their numbers unduly, in any country, it will lead to intense irritation, which will not only bring about retaliation in various forms, but may ultimately lead to a world-wide struggle which would probably end in chaos, and drive the civilisation of the world back to despotism if not to

barbarism. Already the cry of "China for the Chinese" is being raised, and if care be not taken it may result not only in an extended cry of "Asia for the Asiatics," but also in measures being taken to carry it into effect.

The racial problems arising from the contact of the white, the yellow, and the black races are only parts of a more general population problem, which, as Professor Huxley reminded us, is the real ^{The population problem.} riddle of the Sphinx to which no political Oedipus has, as yet, found an answer. We shall not, meantime, even attempt an answer to the general question ; but there are a few points in connection with Japan which may be noted as bearing directly on the subjects which we have been considering.

The population of Japan is increasing at the rate of over half a million a year, and the problems of food-supply and employment are beginning to demand attention. The Britain of the East is now passing through the same stage of development as did the Britain of the West in the early part of last century. Modern sanitary, social, and economic conditions, combined no doubt with the national feeling of rejuvenation, have been the chief causes of the rapid increase of population in recent years. Japan, however, is in a much more difficult position than was Britain, for now there is not a very large part of the surface of the globe unoccupied or at least unclaimed by some Power, and any attempt on the part of the Japanese to occupy what remains would at once lead to an international struggle. Even the attempt to settle large numbers of their people in the already appropriated lands would lead to very serious problems, as, indeed, recent events have very clearly shown. Through the improvements in agricultural education and, consequently, in the methods of farming, the increase per annum in the agricultural produce has kept up very closely with the increase of population ; while the developments which have taken place in Japan in every department of industry have absorbed a considerable part of the increase of the population,

and it is to these improvements and developments that Japanese statesmen look as the most important measures in the immediate future. They believe that the best policy of Japan is to keep its best and strongest men at home to develop the resources of the country, and, if necessary, to defend it from aggression. The demands of industry and the possibility of colonisation within the Empire, and a moderate amount of emigration to neighbouring countries, should prevent the population problem from becoming acute, at least for some generations.

Some of the more adventurous and better educated of the Japanese will, however, find their way to Europe, United States of America, Canada, and Australasia, and will extend the connections of Japan with these countries. For the most part, however, like the Westerners in the East, they are only likely to be temporary sojourners, and few will become nationalised. On the other hand, South America offers opportunities for permanent Japanese settlers, on the condition, however, that they become citizens of the countries to which they go, for any attempt to found an *imperium in imperio* would at once raise very serious international complications. The racial difficulty in South America is not likely to be very great. In appearance and also in general physical and mental qualities many Japanese do not differ much from the Spanish-Americans, and there are no reasons why the two races should not comele. In fact, the same is to a large extent true of any Western people, for so far as we can judge from the experience of the past they would not suffer by intermarriage with the Japanese. The decision on this point might be left with the individuals concerned, subject, of course, to such general regulations as might exist in the various countries with regard to marriage generally. Unfortunately, for the most part, such regulations are non-existent, but the necessity for them is beginning to be recognised, and the science of eugenics is receiving the attention of thoughtful men and women. With all the developments in science which have taken place, it does

not say much for our educational system, that while great attention has been paid to the study of atoms and protozoa, very little has been given to the problems which affect men and women as individuals or as members of communities.

Dr. E. Baelz, who has lived long in Japan and who has made a special study of the comparison of the physical qualities of the Japanese and European races, has stated as the result of mixed marriages in Japan that on the average the children are well built, and show no tendency to disease more than Europeans or Japanese do. This is the more remarkable as many of them grow up under unfavourable circumstances. The director of a school in Tokyo, in which almost all the male half-breeds in that city are educated, is of opinion that if properly brought up and well looked after the half-breeds are in no way inferior to the children of both races. As a rule they are taller and more robust than the Japanese, and in every branch of learning they are fully up to the standard of their fellow-scholars. At the same time Dr. Baelz ridicules the idea which has been put forth for an attempt to improve the Japanese race by systematic intermarriages. The most natural and in the immense majority of cases the only possible thing for a Japanese is to marry a Japanese, and for a European to marry a European. No Japanese man, living all his life in Japan, will wish to marry a foreign girl, nor will a European man living in Europe think of marrying a Japanese. But the thing may be different, and has proved to be different, with Japanese living for a long time in Europe, and with Westerners staying for many years in Japan, knowing the language of the country and associating closely with the people. Their preconceived opinions and a certain feeling of reluctancy, natural at first, may melt away, and mixed marriages have been the result. But, such cases being exceptional, mixed marriages will and must be exceptional too, and to encourage them beyond these limits would hardly be wise. There are no reasons, however, why such races as the Japanese, the Korean, and the Chinese should not amalgamate. The Japanese are not

likely to intermarry with any race which would cause their children to be of a lower type, either mentally or physically, so that that aspect of the subject need not be discussed. The science of eugenics is now beginning to receive attention, and as it develops beyond the individual and the national, in its international form it might in some way indicate that the various races should aim, not at exterminating each other, but at encouraging the improvement by each of its own racial type. A wider view of the subject than is usually taken would lead us to believe that the world is richer for the existence both of other civilisations and of other racial types than our own.

It must always be remembered that emigration is only a temporary solution of the population problem, in fact that it ultimately intensifies its complexity, as the empty regions of the earth are being rapidly taken possession of. The solution lies much deeper, and is to be found in an improved social organisation, and especially in giving free access to the land, but, above all, in a higher conception of individual and national duty with regard to all that affects the welfare of the people; and it is to be hoped that the Japanese will recognise that their influence in the world will depend much more on the quality of the people in their country than on their numbers scattered over other countries. From an economic point of view, when free emigration is allowed to any country, it has two bad effects. In the country to which the emigrants are admitted it blinds people to the real causes of unemployment and starvation in the midst of superfluous wealth, while in the country from which the emigration takes place it to some extent relieves the pressure of competition, and enables both the Government and the people to shut their eyes to the real causes of the evil.

There is one aspect of the population question which weighs heavily on all who think deeply on the subject. In almost all European countries and in the United States of America, the birth-rate is rapidly decreasing, and the population is being increased to a large extent by its least

efficient members, with the result that degenerates are increasing, while humanitarian principles not only preserve them but also enable a considerable number of them to propagate their species. Western society is bringing upon itself a complex and terrible problem, which few have the courage to consider in all its bearings, and which is almost entirely ignored by its legislators and administrators, who in some cases seem to glory in the multiplication of institutions for the benefit of the inefficient and degenerate, and speak of them as the glories of our civilisation. No doubt they are required under present conditions, but in reality they are in great part monuments to neglected duties, and our efforts should be directed to the elimination of the causes which render them necessary.

In the same way a much larger problem is arising in Asia and Africa. The coloured populations are now, to a large extent, freed from the wars, famines, and pestilences which formerly kept their numbers within the means of subsistence, and they are now increasing at a very rapid rate and threaten to swamp the white population wherever they come into contact. Whether the pressure will ever become so great as to cause an overflow into Western countries is a problem which only the future will reveal. It will be very difficult to keep this pressure within control, as it will take a long time before education or legislation is possible which will in any way tend to restrain this increase, and the tendency will be for the coloured races not only to increase in numbers in their own countries but also to seek outlets in other parts of the world. Probably it is unwise to trouble ourselves with very long views as to the future, as the unexpected is always happening, but short views which neglect rapidly increasing tendencies may involve us in very serious difficulties. Meantime we can only indicate the problem, as its full discussion would occupy much space.

It is evident from the conditions which we have been considering that one of the most pressing problems which our statesmen must consider is that of the relations to each

other of the different nationalities within the British Empire. They must awaken to the fact that the British Empire is an organism of extraordinary complexity and not a mere geographical expression, and they must decide how far they should aim at uniformity and how far at unity in diversity. Probably they will arrive at the conclusion that the latter is the only practical way of looking at the subject, and, that being so, that the fundamental lines of development must vary according to the differences of colour and race, which go far deeper than those of education or what is usually called civilisation. It will be found that the practical problems which will arise will be of a very difficult and complex nature. If they understand them fully and are prepared to act with impartial justice, they must be willing to support the efforts of each race with the whole force of the Empire, regardless not only of private rights and interests, but also of that part of the Empire peopled by the British. Their first duty in this matter is to consider what machinery is necessary for deciding those questions and what means should be adopted to carry into effect the decisions which may be arrived at. The British Parliament, as at present constituted, is quite unable to undertake the task. Probably it may obtain help from the Church, if it approaches the subject with adequate knowledge and in the proper spirit. After the recent Lambeth Conference of Bishops an Encyclical Letter was issued in which it was stated that: "The solution of racial problems is the despair of statesmen. It is for the Church of God to face with quiet courage and with buoyant hope the perplexities which daunt the civil ruler who is striving to promote the peace and happiness of the world. The Church is ready with the old true message of the Gospel—'Ye are all one in Christ Jesus.'" Such an appeal comes with greater force to an Eastern mind which believes in the doctrine of reincarnation, and therefore also that the One Puissant Self lies in the hearts of men of every colour and nationality. To such, race-prejudice discloses itself to be unutterably little

Civilisations in
the British
Empire.

and to be the certain hall-mark of the spiritually myopic. Whatever philosophy of life be adopted, however, existing conditions must always be considered, and not only the physiological and the psychological, but also the economic and the social factors be taken into account, so that, at least, a working agreement may be come to. Time alone will bring about a complete solution of the problems involved. The fate of the British Empire to-day, full as it is of explosive forces, depends on the manner in which these problems are approached. Their solution must be undertaken, not only with knowledge but also with sympathy, and with the minimum of physical force or even of external pressure of any kind. Within the British Empire in our various colonies and dependencies we have a positive laboratory of social experiments in dealing with native races, and our first step should be to register the results of these experiments. It has been suggested that the next meeting of Colonial Premiers in connection with the Colonial Office should appoint a Commission to investigate and report on the entire problem, and that the United States should be asked to co-operate. That Commission should be assisted by non-official persons who would look at different aspects of the subject, such as a distinguished biologist who would point out the biological bearings of the problems, a sensible labour leader who would cause them to be considered from the labour point of view, one or two women who would take care that the interests of women were not overlooked, and a thoroughly sensible missionary who would urge the claims of religion. The narrow, selfish habit of mind, not only in individuals but also in nations, is not to be changed merely by a new argument, but, as has already been indicated, by a conception of man's relation to the universe which creates emotional force as well as intellectual conviction. The non-white races within the Empire are no longer content with the prospect of existing as the servants of the white races or as the mere material of their virtues, they are now beginning to have their own vague ideas of nationality, and when these

become better defined they may have very important results on the British Empire.

Recent events have shown the necessity of coming to an understanding on the subject and that without any unnecessary delay. In some cases the problem is solving itself through the disappearance of the races in question. The North American Indians are being absorbed into the general mass of the American people. The aborigines in Australia are dying out—exterminated in only too many cases by the deliberate and conscious cruelty of the white man. Fortunately, however, the presence of white races has not always so devastating an effect, and the black and yellow races show a remarkable capacity for adapting themselves in certain directions to our civilisation; and one of the greatest problems which confronts the twentieth century is to discover and apply a policy for the regulation of the relations between these races. The Transvaal has learnt a bitter lesson in attempting to settle the Oriental problem without first carefully inquiring how least to hurt Oriental susceptibilities in carrying out a policy which it believes to be necessary. South Africa is face to face with the more general problem of the negro which is rapidly becoming pressing. Canada has adopted a more reasonable course in regard to both Japan and India, but it is essential that a common understanding should be come to among all the members of the Empire. The question is one which in its various aspects affects or may affect Australasia, South Africa, Canada, East Africa, and possibly other colonies; it is of the highest importance to India as well as to ourselves in our conduct of negotiations with Japan and China. Hitherto it has only been treated in a piecemeal fashion as the immediate necessity has arisen. It is one to be dealt with in the most comprehensive fashion by consultation with all concerned. The results of our present lack of method are confusions, heart-burnings, and inconsistencies which may cause racial antagonism to launch us on a sea of troubles. It is to be hoped that those who are responsible for such matters will

at once take steps which will allow the problems involved to be solved in a rational manner. Meantime, there are some clear personal and national duties. Individual conduct reacts on national welfare, and therefore it is the duty of every citizen to strive to attain the highest standard possible and to cultivate the spirit of self-sacrifice for the public good. A nation composed of men and women of this type, although it feels the pride of race, will understand that other peoples can respond to the same thrill and its Imperialism will not be of an aggressive nature. To its subject races it will desire to occupy the position of a friend, to its self-governing colonies or dependencies it will only seek to be considered an equal, while to the world at large it will be content to be regarded as a friendly neighbour. In a recent sermon in St. John's Cathedral, Hong-Kong, the venerable Archdeacon Banister, preaching on this subject, said: "When the different peoples of the world are brought together, when they begin to understand one another, then old-time barriers will be removed and something will be achieved in the direction of the 'Parliament of man and the federation of the world' about which the poet was inspired to sing. The highest culture really knows no colour nor racial distinctions, no white nor black, no brown nor yellow. As the civilised races become more sympathetic there will be a greater communion between both. We need no other example than that of Japan. There, a people have forsaken their primitive ideas in favour of Western knowledge. They have stepped into the front rank of the Power in the world. Their colour did not prevent their being allied to Great Britain. Therefore it seems very clear that as the various races seek the highest knowledge, the most satisfactory philosophy, and the most useful religion—using the word in its broadest sense—that unity of men which is the ideal of so many of our best thinkers will be attained on an intellectual basis, a basis the most firm of all, and on no other."

It is evident that the points of difference between the East and the West are numerous and that they may lead to

very serious difficulties. It is, however, not expecting too much from professing Christians to require of them, both as individuals and as nations, that they should practise as much of their religion as will enable them to settle all international questions which arise, by reason and not by brute force. If they decline to do this, they should abjure their Christianity and not bring disgrace upon it, they should certainly have the decency to refrain from the attempt to proselytise the peoples of the East. If the so-called heathen ever become dangerous, from a military and naval point of view, it will be because they have been driven to such a position by the aggressive conduct of the peoples of the West. If they enter into the industrial and commercial struggle, which is the cause of so many of our social and political problems, it will be because they have been taught by the example of the West and have forgotten their own ideal, that life is not meant to be simply a struggle for existence or for the material wealth which, at present, absorbs so much of the energy of the peoples of the West, but rather as an opportunity for the realisation of their highest powers and ideals. They may be mistaken in the means which they have hitherto adopted to attain their object, but it has seldom been altogether lost sight of.

Unfortunately many Western writers not only forget all that the religion which they profess should teach them to aim at, but they start with the preconceived idea that a struggle between East and West is inevitable. One of them, who has written several volumes on Eastern subjects and who, by some people, has come to be looked upon as an authority regarding them, in his latest book says: "While people have been very busy applauding the pacific tendencies of the day—tendencies which on the surface seem to have spread over the entire globe, and which have linked the nations together in the most puzzling series of treaties ever contracted—the world remains much as it was before, and old animosities and old ambitions have by no means disappeared. How can they indeed? It is international rivalry,

culminating in death-dealing battles, which is the great motive power of the world. It is this rivalry between the nations which has founded empires and undone others ; it is this rivalry which, when successful, men celebrate in their proudest moments, and which again invites them to persevere when the horizon of their hopes has assumed its blackest hue. The sterilisation begotten of a long peace is as much the nemesis of a nation as the vainglory of a Napoleon who threw himself to the other extreme, and would have made of war the world's sole god. Moderation in war and moderation in peace is the line along which the successful nation must necessarily progress. It is impossible to conceive of a world presided over by international lawyers and international law-givers, such as is the strange ideal of some who, ignorant of first principles, which in Asia at least are never forgotten, would substitute by mere paper decrees the theories of the class-room for the rough practice of actual life. To succeed in realising such vain dreams it would first be necessary to emasculate all mankind ; and, when that had been done, the ravages of outraged natural laws would provide a terrible vengeance. War, then, is as necessary to mankind as are the male and female elements, the *Yin* and the *Yang* of the Chinese philosophers, who discovered many centuries ago that the dual element must run through all nature. War and peace—these are the male and female elements in international intercourse ; and when either one or the other makes too great a claim, and seeks to live without its mate, all history shows that the result is inevitable.”¹

All who have the welfare of humanity at heart, and who have any belief in the possibility of realising God's kingdom on earth, should combat such opinions by all means in their power. To say that “it is international rivalry, culminating in death-dealing battles, which is the great motive power of the world” is the rankest form of blasphemy, for it denies the power of all religion to bring men into a common

¹ Putman Weale, *The Coming Struggle in Eastern Asia*, pp. 625-627.

brotherhood. Writing of this kind, and the worse productions of the "yellow press," which would plunge the world in bloodshed in order that they might increase their circulation, are responsible for many of the difficulties which arise between nations, and they can only be combated by an intelligent opinion among the great masses of the people concerned, a large part of whose energies are spent in providing the means which are squandered on armaments. If the resources of the world were properly directed we might make it a place much more worth living in than it is at present, not simply from a material but also from a moral and spiritual point of view. To disbelieve in this possibility is to lose faith both in God and in man, and to take from life all that makes it really worth living.

While formal treaties have their uses, experience has shown that Western Powers seldom allow them to interfere with their own interests when new conditions arise, and it is to be hoped that the history of the future will show a better record than that of the past. They need not be at so much trouble to show by formal documents that they are not anxious to cut each other's throats in the Far East, and especially in China. They have only to put into practice the religion which they profess, and do unto others as they would like to be done to. Above all, they ought to remember the legitimate aspirations of a people possessing forty centuries of history and a civilisation which, in many respects, will bear favourable comparison with that of the West. It is, of course, impossible to say what these aspirations may be in the future, as they will in great part depend on the conduct of the Western Powers and the political conditions which result from that conduct. All we can do is to form an opinion from their history in the past, and then estimate some of the possibilities of the future.

A good deal is made by some writers of the anti-foreign feelings of the Chinese. Even Dr. Martin, who, on the whole, is sympathetic to them, says that "so far from being new, an anti-foreign spirit is the normal state of the Chinese

mind." In saying this I believe that he does them an injustice. Not only from their history, but also from the opinions of men who know them intimately, it is evident that, speaking broadly, the Chinese are very tolerant of foreigners, as indeed they are of foreign religions. Men of every race may settle in the country, if they will only take China as they find it and refrain from upbraiding her for not conforming to their ideals. On these terms China will give hospitality to any one who may come, and in the course of a few generations absorb them and make good Chinese of them ; but what from the beginning she disliked, and the dislike is now growing into resentment, is any form of *imperium* in Chinese *imperio*. The tactless methods of some of the foreign missionaries, the aggressive action of Foreign Powers, and the selfish greed of foreign capitalists have intensified this resentment and led to the perpetration of some of the cruelties which have shocked the Western world. The Boxer rising was simply a blind inarticulate outburst of feeling caused by the indignities which had been heaped on China ; so that while it is impossible to justify the actions which followed, it is quite easy to explain them.

Some writers have predicted that a day will come when China, inspired by a spirit of war and probably led by Japan, will arm its millions for the conquest of the West. It may, however, be taken for granted that there is little probability of Japan and China co-operating for political purposes or uniting their naval forces, unless they are driven to such action by the aggressive action of the Western Powers. It will, at least, take a long time before they get rid of that mutual jealousy which is a characteristic of all Eastern Powers. This feeling on the part of China is likely to be increased by what she may think the self-assertiveness, if not aggressive action, of Japan, which is characteristic of nations which have newly discovered their strength. Moreover, she will take a long time to forget that Japan owed her earlier civilisation entirely to her, and, as has already been pointed out, she has had an immemorial faith in her

own transcendence, which inspired her with a certain amount of contempt for the people of other countries. All that, however, will tend to disappear with the spread of Western education in China and with the increasing intercourse with Japan and the West. During the war with Russia, China was quite willing to throw in her lot with Japan for the purpose of resisting Russian aggression, but the Japanese Government declined her assistance, as they saw that it would be a source of weakness rather than of strength. The Chinese army was small and the navy insignificant, and if China had declared war against Russia the task of defending the Pacific coasts from Vladivostock to Hong-Kong would have been thrown on Japan, and thus have weakened her power on the Russians both by land and by sea.

Events, however, are rapidly changing, and although the Chinese, both by instinct and by training, are essentially a peace-loving people, in order to preserve their national existence they are arming as quickly as possible, with the determination to resist all foreign aggression from whatever quarter it may come. They will soon have a large army, and probably also a considerable navy, and, should Western aggression show itself in any form, there can be little doubt that they will unite with Japan in resisting it, and, when once the military spirit is evoked, it might be possible to realise the gloomy picture drawn by Mr. Charles H. Pearson of an Asiatic combination which might overwhelm the civilisation of Europe, and fulfil the prophecy of Mr. Meredith Townsend, who has argued that Asia, which has rejected Christianity and hates the European mind, will one day attempt to shake itself free from the Western world.

While the potentialities of the Far East for evils to the West are very great, on this subject I am inclined to agree with Professor E. G. Browne of Cambridge University, who, some time ago in a lecture, said: "The curious thing is that nobody has any idea of whether there would be any 'Yellow Peril,' even if the other Asiatic Powers shook off their weakness as Japan has done. For it is to be remembered that

while our civilisation has developed very largely on military lines, that of China (which is the dominant factor in the case) has tended away from militarism. The Chinese despise fighting as the propensity of brutes, beasts, or savages, and leave it to the riff-raff of the populace. And even if, under the influence of Japan and the pressure of European rapacity, they should organise themselves to resist the violence of others, it does not follow that they will embark on a career of aggression. On the contrary, it is possible that China may yet give the world a lead in the direction of peace." If that lead be not followed, we are not likely to be far wrong in assuming that, if the unexpected ability of the Japanese and the Chinese to defend themselves against the "White Peril" means a "Yellow Peril," that peril is certain to appear. A fully armed and aggressive China is, however, still only a potentiality, and may never become a reality if the Western Powers treat China in a rational and sympathetic manner. The glory of war is something which does not appeal to her people.

The militarism of Europe is one of its greatest curses, and it is crushing the people under an ever-increasing load of debt. If the result of contact with the West has been to make militarism, with all its attendant evils, a necessary part of Eastern civilisation, it would have been better for it to have remained isolated. Such a result would show that Western civilisation rests on an altogether false foundation.

Men with any depth of religious feeling believe, with the full intensity of personal conviction, that, when moral motives come to weigh heavier with mankind than do material desires, there will be no war, and therefore no need for the great expenditure on armaments which is crushing the countries of the West, and which is threatening those of the East. Religion, economics, and science all point to the absurdity of the immense armaments which exist, but, although at no period in the world's history has there been so much talk about international peace, yet there has been no

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armaments.

such ill-disguised preparation for war, and so little regard for the rights of weaker nations, especially those of Asiatic race. The cant about the morals, the religion, and the civilisation of Western nations is not infrequently accompanied by an utter disregard for the dictates of ordinary morality, both individual and national. In former days nations and individuals made no claims to special virtue, and their shortcomings did not attract attention; but now, when those of the West assume a position of superiority, they must be prepared to answer any criticism which is made of their actions. It is a grotesque end for the great story of European civilisation, that each nation should go on increasing its armaments until the people are being crushed by their expense, and the highest forms of national life rendered impossible. The ultimate alternatives are universal national bankruptcy, with individual millionaires at one end of the social scale and millions of paupers at the other, and a great international Armageddon which will diminish the inhabitants of the globe to one-half. Is it expecting too much from human nature to say that the problem ought to receive careful consideration before the struggle goes any further?

"To be prepared for war is the best guarantee of peace" is one of those absurd sayings which, by continued iteration, have come to be regarded by some people, and especially the military experts, as the essence of political wisdom. In ruder times, in Britain and in other countries, the practice of continually carrying weapons for self-defence was practically universal, not only among the aristocracy and gentry, but even among the peasantry, and it only began to disappear when efficient government had rendered life and property so secure that the private person had lost all fear of having to defend himself. For a long time, however, private arming existed to a greater or less extent, and even at the present day is not altogether unknown; but, speaking generally, private individuals give up carrying weapons when there is a well-ordered and secure government, and when experience has adequately demonstrated their security. It will, no

doubt, be argued that a similar condition is necessary for the disappearance of national armaments, and the force of the argument will be admitted to a very considerable extent. Even when judgment has been given by a Court of Arbitration, such as that established by the Hague Conference, there is no executive government to enforce an award: its fulfilment is left to the honour of the disputants, and to the moral force of international public opinion, a rapidly growing force. The growth of democratic government, in all countries having any claim to be considered civilised, is generating a power which was formerly quite unknown, but which in the future is certain to exercise a most important influence on international relations. The workers are no longer content to allow a great part of the products of their labour to be spent on useless armaments or to disappear amid powder and smoke.

It is sometimes argued that war will disappear on account of the developments of science and their applications to warfare, as the consequences of an outbreak would be so terrible, both in the slaughter of men and in the expenditure of money, as to make it impossible for any government to undertake the responsibility for it. No doubt these reasons will have considerable effect, but the only ultimate preventative of war is *the removal of its causes*. This brings us back to the ethical and religious problem. Nations composed of men and women whose moral powers were highly developed, while they would be prepared to defend their national existence, would be careful to avoid all appearance of aggression in any form. Neither the so-called "experts" nor the "yellow press," with all the means of excitement which are now too common, could inflame a populace which was in possession of its self-governing powers. We can hardly doubt that war would already be at an end if an intelligent public opinion were in power, so that the ultimate solution of the problem of peace and war is to be found in education in its best and highest forms. When all that is involved in that problem,

not only from an economic and social but also from a moral and religious point of view, is fully realised, all reasonable men and women will work earnestly in the cause of peace.

Notwithstanding the success of the Japanese in all the wars in which they have been engaged in recent times, there

The Peace Movement in Japan.	is a growing desire among them for peace. They recognise the absurdity of spending a large part of their national resources on arma-
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ments, instead of the improvement of the standard of national life, which they believe is the mark of the position of any nation in the scale of civilisation. The best men in Japan hate war, although they have displayed such noble qualities while engaged in it. Their training has fitted them to sink self utterly in any cause which they espouse, and not a few of them are anxious to become leaders in the movement for international peace, as they believe that that is something heroic which will appeal to men as universally as war does, and yet be as compatible with their spiritual selves as war is obviously incompatible. Then Japan and America and the other nations of the world will be rivals only in the early meaning of the word ; dwellers on opposite shores, the ocean not for separation but for union ; each the other's friend and helper, not in material things only, but in the highest things, which the others lack, and together bring in a higher civilisation than any one could reach alone.

These opinions have found expression in many forms during the past few years in Japan. During the war with Russia a few foreigners and Japanese in Tokyo organised the Council of the Friends of Peace and Arbitration. Its members were at one in the belief that "all war is contrary to the teaching and spirit of Jesus Christ." They also remembered that war is inconsistent not only with Christianity, but also with the ethics of the East ; that Confucius said, "Within the four seas all are brothers" ; that Mencius taught, "Love brings under its sway whatever hinders its power" ; that Laotsze wrote, "Recompense enmity by doing good" ; that the Buddha taught, "Never in this

world does hatred cease by hatred ; hatred ceases by love. Peace, unweaponed, conquers every wrong." A basis was therefore needed, broad enough to include all who desired the settlement of misunderstandings by other means than the arbitrament of the sword. So in May 18, 1906, anniversary of the Hague Conference, the Japan Peace Society was organised—the Hon. S. Ebara, president ; Judge Watanabe, vice-president ; and many others of wide influence united in the purpose—"to secure and maintain the permanent and universal peace of the world by fostering intimate relations among nations and harmonious feelings among races, and especially by urging the use of peaceable means in settling international disputes."

At a meeting in Tokyo of the Peace Society of Japan, Dr. Timothy Richard of Shanghai spoke at length on his ideas for the establishment of international peace, and explained the part taken by him in the cause. His main proposal is a federation of seven great Powers, presumably—Japan, China, Great Britain, the United States of America, France, Germany, and Russia. He suggested that they should agree among themselves on the following points:—

"I. That the principal nations shall forthwith federate themselves into a world-empire for the good of all nations, with a Supreme Court to decide all their international affairs by a just law and not by mere force of arms.

"II. That these nations elect one of their number to be a world Power for a period of years, which from time to time during its term of office shall issue programmes of reform for universal good, and shall command the federated army and navy to enforce the final sentence of the Supreme Court.

"III. That in order to save the people from the horrors of war, all cases of their international dispute, which cannot be settled diplomatically, shall be referred to the world Supreme Court, whose decision shall be final.

"IV. That each of the federated nations be defended from all invasions and outside wrongs.

"V. That the federated nations will throw open their respective countries and colonies and dependencies for perfect reciprocity and freedom of residence, trade, labour, education, religion, and everything else exactly as members of one and the same great empire.

"VI. That in order to remove prejudice, strengthen sympathy, and increase co-operation, which in many respects will be a better defence than the fear of an overwhelming force, a sound uniform general system of international education be devised, which among others shall not only in the universities teach comparative religion, but in all the schools teach what is highest in all religion, so that the pupils may follow the best. A fraction of the world's revenue saved by federation shall be devoted to these international universities and universal education.

"VII. That in order to put an end to this endless international strife caused by different tariffs on an endless number of articles, *one uniform ad valorem* tariff be fixed for all nations, just as we have one uniform weights and measures in each country.

"VIII. That each of the federated States contribute an equal share of the expense of this world-empire, according to its area, population, trade, and other interests involved."

This programme in all its details may not be within the range of practical politics, but Dr. Richard has received assurances from high officials in Japan and China that their countries would be willing to join the federation.

Although the Hague Conference failed to realise all the expectations of its earnest supporters, it at least made a beginning of an organisation which, if properly developed, should be able to settle all international differences without the cruel arbitrament of war. It must, however, be admitted that the beginning which was made was not very great. M. de Nelidoff, the President of the Conference, is reported to have said that, "in matters concerning their honour, dignity, and essential interests, nations would always decide for themselves and

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refuse advice or outside appeals." This statement practically gives up the whole case for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, as it is possible to maintain that *any* matter, however trifling, concerns the honour, dignity, or the essential interests of the nations involved. It might, however, be accepted if the *real* opinions of the peoples of the nations concerned were ascertained, and international relations were not guided by personal or bureaucratic ambitions or predilections, which are too often the results of unbalanced judgment or of ignorance. There is, indeed, little hope for the future of the world unless we are able to postulate two conditions: (1) The continuity, with increased intelligence, efficiency, and morality of the principle of democracy in international affairs, according to which a majority of qualified persons can carry their common will as to political regulations into effect; and (2) the existence of statesmanship or political wisdom on the part of leading citizens to give definite shape to the will of the multitude. The principle of continuity and of evolution must be recognised in every department of human thought and action, and as indeed it is to be seen in every part of the universe. History shows very clearly that whenever men have tried to mould the growth of peoples in opposition to the natural course of evolution, they have either entirely failed or produced but transitory effects; but, whenever they have recognised the economic and natural forces at work and have co-operated with them, and thus increased the rate of progress along the line it was in any case following, they have been abundantly successful.

The question to consider is, Is it possible to organise an International Parliament which will be able to meet these conditions? The answer, of course, must be in the affirmative, if there is sufficient knowledge and wisdom among those who constitute it; and, although it may be thought that the progress which has been made in this direction has been small, it is sufficient to give the hope that, if a higher ideal is kept constantly in view by the

peoples concerned, it will be possible to approximate to it. Professor H. Stanley-Jevons¹ and other thoughtful writers have indicated the outlines of schemes for a world-wide federal government which, they believe, could be carried out in some seventy or eighty years from the present time, provided that judicious efforts are made by the Friends of Peace to hasten the national rate of evolution. We must refer to these writers for details, as at present our space will allow the mention of only a few of the more important points.

The main feature of the legislation would be its frank recognition of the unwisdom, if not impossibility, of maintaining unaltered any existing distribution of power and territory amongst States. It must accept the fact that change is universal, that evolution and degeneration are characteristic of nations. The budding young nation full of high aspirations and patriotism, capable of great sacrifices, has its sympathy; the effete and corrupt empire will be made to feel that it has no longer a mission on earth. All these changes, often so necessary for the progress of civilisation, which have hitherto resulted in and from war, can still take place, therefore, but in a bloodless and comparatively costless manner. Of course, this presupposes that the members of the International Parliament have studied the various aspects of civilisation in East and West, and, while they will promote a mutual understanding, they will do nothing to encourage a mere mechanical uniformity. For a considerable time the influence exercised would be more indirect than direct, as the impetus to real reform in any nation must come from within, as in the case of Japan. The contact with other nations, and the observation of the conditions which existed, soon convinced the Japanese of the necessity of taking full advantage of Western science and methods, while at the same time retaining all their own special qualities and national traits.

The machinery of the International Parliament would,

¹ Cf. *The Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1907; also *The Need of the Nations*, Watts and Co., 1907.

in great part, be similar to that in all great countries for carrying on the different departments of government, and hasty legislation would be checked by requiring the confirmation by the assent of a majority of the States to the measures proposed. At first this would be a slow process, but even the mere discussion of international questions in this way would, in itself, be a very useful form of public education. Four Executive Departments are suggested, namely—the Departments of Law and Justice, of Public Peace, of Trade, and of Finance; and the functions of these are indicated by their names. The threat or possibility of some form of coercion on a formidable scale would, no doubt, be occasionally necessary to secure obedience to the orders of the Executive Government, and to give effect to the judgments of the Courts; but the moral existence of permanent machinery whereby compulsion could be exerted would, in nearly all cases, be found to ensure compliance with the decisions of the International Government. No doubt such an organisation will be thought altogether impossible by the “practical” politicians; but already a beginning has been made in the direction indicated, and the process of evolution will go on, if the peoples of the various countries are intelligent enough to insist on steps being taken which will safeguard their best interests. Hitherto these interests have been the playthings of rulers and officials, who must be given to understand that if they are to exist at all, it can only be on condition that they act in a rational manner, and for the good of the great body of their people.

During the hundred years which have elapsed since Immanuel Kant wrote his philosophical essay on “Perpetual Peace,” many developments have taken place which have brought his ideal nearer the range of practical politics.

The future.

In the first place, as has already been indicated, the work of the engineer has completely changed the economic conditions of the world. It has, moreover, shrunk it into small dimensions, so that the various parts of it are now in

much closer contact than formerly. This condition not only renders mutual knowledge easy, but also makes isolation very difficult, if not impossible. In the second place, the power of the democracy has very much increased, so that a majority of qualified persons can carry their common will regarding political regulations into effect. True, that common will has not yet had very much effect on international relations, but it is increasing in power, and it is to be hoped that before long the making of war will be beyond the power of emperors, kings, governments, or officials. In the third place, knowledge has increased and the social conscience has developed, and statesmen and politicians are not only studying for themselves all the aspects of international problems, but they are also more inclined to give definite working shape to the will of the multitude. They are unconsciously following the postulate of Kant: "Seek ye first the kingdom of pure practical reason and its righteousness, and the object of your endeavour, the blessing of perpetual peace, will be added unto you." They have, however, still to learn the fundamental imperative which must be imposed on their will, namely: "Act so that thou canst will, that thy maxim should be a universal law, be the end of thy action what it will." If the striving for perpetual peace is a duty, it must necessarily follow from this universal law. Kant did regard it as a duty. "We must," he said, "desire perpetual peace not only as a material good, but also as a state of things resulting from our recognition of the precepts of duty." We commend not only these opinions of Kant, but also his complete essay to the attention of those politicians and publicists who seem to do all in their power, to stir up strife not only between the peoples of the East and the West, but also between those of the West.

In his essay, Kant demonstrated the hopelessness of any attempt to secure perpetual peace between independent nations. Such nations, he thought, may make treaties, but these are binding only for so long as it is not to the interest of either party to denounce them. To enforce them is im-

possible when the nations remain independent. As Professor D. G. Ritchie put it : " There is only one way in which war between independent nations can be prevented, and that is by the nations ceasing to be independent." This, however, is not true in the sense in which it was true in the days of Kant, for now the force of public opinion in the various nations is much stronger than it then was, and what may be called the international conscience is more fully developed, and this is having a greater restraining influence on the actions of governments. War has hitherto not been waged between the peoples of different nations, but between their rulers, who have used the people to carry out their ambitious designs, and the power which they have hitherto had in this respect would be all the better of being reduced. Really independent nations, that is to say, those in which the will of the people was carried out, would seldom, if ever, go to war with each other, and war for the most part would be confined to the punishment of those who offended against international morality, and would be undertaken not by one nation but by a combined force representing the civilised nations concerned. The possibility of an international force acting under international instructions was shown by the combined action which was taken for the relief of the siege of the Legations in Peking during the Boxer troubles.

Japan, China, and the United States are the countries in the Pacific area whose action will to a large extent determine conditions in the Far East, while Great Britain and Germany are the European Powers whose influence will be most felt in international politics. If these Powers could agree, the peace of the world would be assured. They, of course, should not attempt to dominate the other countries of the world, but rather use their influence not simply to conserve their own interests but also to advance the welfare of the world ; that is to say, they should not only exercise an intelligent nationalism, but also a benevolent internationalism. An organisation, such as the International Parliament which we have sketched, would be of the greatest value in formu-

lating the opinion of the civilised world on questions of international importance, and if the peoples of the various countries of the world were really free they might safely be left to work out their own salvation.

Japan, in the course of her history, has shown what great things she can accomplish when she takes hold of an ideal. For over two hundred years she deliberately shut herself off from all external influences in order that she might live her own life according to her own ideals. Her rapid progress on Western lines has, in great part, been due to the determination that she should not suffer the indignity of being looked down upon as an inferior country. Her ideals are being rapidly developed, and their future will, in great part, depend on the conditions of the countries of the West and on the nature of their conduct to her. Her recent action has shown her willingness to move in the direction of peace, for she has reduced her expenditure on armaments and curtailed her military and naval programme. Her Prime Minister stated that she was able to do this because of the increased goodwill of the great Powers of the world, and she took the opportunity of showing her peaceful and non-aggressive inclinations. If she were freed from the fear of Western aggression and allowed to utilise her resources for the purpose of becoming a great nation in the highest sense of the term, that is to say, not only materially but also intellectually and morally, there are no limits to be placed to her possible attainments.

If, however, Japan is to live up to the ideal of what has been claimed as her mission, she must not allow Western ideals of the individualistic and material kind to swamp her in her endeavours to realise her fullest possible life. While paying due attention to the material developments which are necessary for the highest forms of individual and national life, these should be used not as ends in themselves, but as means to an end, namely, the welfare of her people, physically, mentally, and morally, and the influence for good which she would be able to exercise on the other nations

of the world, and chiefly as the reconciler of East and West.

Under the pressure of external forces China is arming as rapidly as circumstances will allow, and, if she awakes to a full sense of her power and the immensity of her resources in men and material, it is impossible to speculate as to the possibilities of the future. In the preceding chapters enough has been said to show the reality of the "White Peril" and the hardships and woes which the white man is to-day inflicting on the yellow man by his presence and by his methods, his armies, and his commerce. Wherever he has gone he has made it plain that his intention is that the yellow man, and to a much greater extent the black man, shall be obedient to his will, and that the resources of his country shall be available for exploitation. Japan is the only Eastern country where that intention has been successfully resisted, and it cannot be wondered that her success has had considerable effect on the others. That success has not only stayed the aggression of the West, it has made the peoples of the East conscious of their strength. Still, with all, there has been no sign of any spirit of aggression, and Professor Browne is quite right when he says that "it is possible that China may yet give the world a lead in the direction of peace." Japan would certainly follow that lead if she were assured that she would be allowed to carry on her national life, free from the aggressive interference of Western Powers. These Powers may rest assured that if the unexpected ability of the East to defend itself against the "White Peril" means the "Yellow Peril," that that peril is certain to appear. The future therefore holds great possibilities for good or evil. The differences which will arise between the East and the West on account of the economic and racial problems which we have mentioned will no doubt require very careful and serious study, but there is nothing in them which should necessarily lead to war between the nations of the East and the West, if the latter do not by their threatening armaments and their aggressive

actions cause an outbreak of hostilities. They may rest assured, however, that now that Japan has shown what an Eastern Power can do, selfish aggression in any form will be repelled by combined action.

The United States of America have always been very friendly to Japan and China, and there are no good reasons why they should not remain so. Since, however, they became a colonising nation and potentially a great naval Power after the Spanish-American War, there has been, as is well known, a certain amount of strain or friction introduced into their relations. As we have shown, there is not sufficient to justify the fear of an outbreak of war between the United States and either Japan or China, or the two combined, as they probably would be if it came to a struggle between the East and the West. The influence and example of the United States will have great results, not only in the Pacific area, but also in all parts of the world, and if they and Great Britain headed a federation they would not only reconcile the East and the West, but also maintain peace, not only in the Pacific area, but also in the whole world. It is to be hoped that the recent developments of Imperialism and Militarism in the United States will not lead to a condition in all the countries bounded by the Pacific area such as at present exists in Europe. The words of Mr. Taft on his inauguration as President were not encouraging; in fact, Mr. Birrell, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, called them "words of doom," for they shattered some of the best aspirations of humanity, since the United States of America had always been looked upon as a strong, unarmed nation.

Germany is probably the most disturbing factor in the solution of the problem of the reduction of armaments. Shortly before the recent Hague Conference, Prince Bülow announced that the German Government could not take part in a discussion of the subject, which, momentous as it was, was yet unpractical. He was supported with enthusiasm in the Reichstag by members of all parties except the Social

Democrats, and next morning a chorus of approbation rose from the newspaper press throughout the Empire. It does not, of course, follow that the opinions of the German people agreed with those of the German Government, or the Press, but it is quite evident that there is a great body of opinion in Germany which requires to be changed before there is much hope of a reduction in her policy regarding armaments. Prince Bülow spoke of "the difficulties of our geographical position, and of the other circumstances which compel us to defend ourselves," and it must be admitted that there is considerable excuse for the nervousness of Germany. A review of her history shows that she has suffered severely from the inroads of her neighbours, while many thoughtful Germans are convinced that existing conditions in different parts of the world give genuine cause for alarm. They seem to think that Germany is being excluded from her proper place in the comity of nations. They see Britain allied with Japan, on most friendly terms with France and the United States, in cordial relations with Italy and Spain, and even coming to an understanding with Russia. Austria alone of the Great Powers remains outside of what appears to be a tacit confederation organised by Great Britain, and the value of her alliance would not be great should international troubles arise. The state of Russia is very unstable, and revolution in that country might lead to war, which might involve Germany. On the other side is France, which within the past three centuries has six times declared war on Germany, and, although she is at present peaceably inclined, the Germans have reason to know that the Parisian temper is very fickle, and might raise a cry of a *revanche* to recover the lost territories of France. The difficulties of the German geographical position are, therefore, easily understood, and the objections of Germany to a reduction of armaments can be overcome only by her possible rivals taking such steps as will give her confidence in the security of her position as a first-rank world-Power. There, however, need be little difficulty about this. The treaties and

alliances which have been made by other Powers are not meant to be offensive against Germany, and a little wise diplomacy would be able to include her in their arrangements. Moreover, the conditions in France are now altogether different from what they were under a monarchy and an empire, and the danger of aggression from that quarter is now very small.

The external conditions of France have also very much improved in recent years, thanks, in great part, to the good understanding which has been come to with Great Britain. Not many years ago these two countries were glowering at one another in all the four quarters of the globe with a mutual and insensate suspiciousness, but the *entente* has not only removed the danger of a Colonial conflict between these two Powers, it has added greatly to the stability of Europe and increased the prospects of peace. It has enabled France to double her strength by halving her objectives, for she is now able to converge both by land and by sea upon a single point. The gain to Great Britain has not been less obvious, for she is now freed from the fear of an anti-British coalition headed by France. In conjunction with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the Anglo-French *entente* probably restricted the area of the conflict between Japan and Russia; and since the collapse of the effectiveness of the latter Power it has served to prevent the undue predominance of any one Power on the Continent of Europe. At the same time it is a purely defensive agreement, and will not be used by Britain to embroil France with Germany, nor by France to embroil Germany with Britain. It in no way interferes with other European Alliances, and the supreme object of French and British diplomacy should be to show that the *entente* is not incompatible with an improvement in Franco-German relations.

The position of Germany is thus the most difficult factor in European politics. Other countries which have been making agreements among themselves cannot go on for ever simply wondering at the irritation of Germany and

telling her that she is isolated by her own fault. She must be brought into the diplomatic circle by hook or by crook, and be shown that other nations are willing to work with her for good causes, and any statesman who does this will deserve well of the great republic of peoples. British statesmen especially should recognise that, as their first duty in foreign politics, and as a thing of all others which is most worth doing. It cannot be a settlement of territorial difficulties, because there are none to settle, but it might well be a commercial understanding or an understanding on some questions of naval policy which would allay the unrest which at present prevails in both countries. That unrest arises from fear. Perfect love casteth out fear, for fear hath torment. It is not less true that fear casts out not only love, perfect or imperfect, but in its torment banishes peace, and insists upon the negation of all moral principle in the relations of nations. Hence, to secure the peace of Europe the supreme object should be to cast out fear, to reassure the timorous, to encourage belief in the strength of the national position. Unfortunately, Germany, which is morbidly fearful of an attack on two fronts, has been treated otherwise by some British journalists and statesmen, and there has been an appearance of a design to isolate her, and to expose her to a coalition of adverse Powers, when in reality the most responsible parties were earnestly working in the interests of peace. The striking and far-reaching results of the battle of the Sea of Japan gave a great impetus to the construction of naval armaments not only in Germany but also in every other country, and some sections of the Germans trace the present unrest to the Jameson Raid and the Boer War, and they argue that it is being maintained by the cry for protection and an armed nation. They say that "a Britain pacific, Gladstonian, free-trading, relying upon voluntary service for her armed force—such a Britain may have as large a fleet as she pleases without exerting any alarm. But a Britain that is aggressive, protectionist, armed to the teeth by conscription,

is another proposition altogether. Against the latter Britain we must, in self-defence, push on our naval defensive forces with the utmost rapidity." They point to the capture of the Danish fleet a hundred years ago as a precedent of what might happen at the present day, and, when they find Members of Parliament actually suggesting the capture or destruction of the German fleet, they are driven to the conclusion that their world-wide commerce, their infant colonies, and their immense mercantile marine demand the existence of a strong navy, as a weak one would only be a temptation to an enemy. They claim that they are only following our example, our precept, and our practice, and looked at from that point of view it is impossible to blame them.

At the same time Germany must clearly understand that, if she is ambitious of obtaining possession of territory which at present belongs to any of the Great Powers, there is no hope of an agreement on that subject without the arbitrament of war, and the consequences of that would be so tremendous, that she must surely hesitate before she took any steps which would cause an outbreak. The United States would resist any attempt at any settlement on the American Continents involving political domination, and, of course, Great Britain would not give up without a determined struggle any of her possessions to a Foreign Power. The British Colonies are practically self-governing States, and they would resist to the death any attempt to bring them under the dominion of a military Power like Germany, while Japan and China are not likely to allow any further encroachments in the Far East, so that it may be taken for granted that in the Pacific area, at any rate, all possible ambitions of the Western Powers have been arrested.

The question naturally arises, What does Germany intend to do with her large navy? It has been suggested that complications may soon be expected on the Continent of Europe, and that Germany is preparing herself for the contingencies which may arise, so that her influence may be

felt when any readjustments of territory took place, and there can be no doubt that a strong navy would be a powerful factor in the decision of the problems involved. Apart, however, from possible complications in Europe, it is urged that the foreign trade of Germany is increasing, and it is claimed that a strong navy is required for its protection. If, however, navies increase in proportion to the increase of trade in the world, that trade is handicapped by a very heavy tax which is paid for ultimately by the working classes. After all, the best protection of the ships of any country is the friendship of peoples with whom she trades. The Emperor of Germany has given proofs of his good-will to Great Britain, and of his determination to do all in his power to keep the peace. He should endeavour to restrain the blind material forces which drive nations to use their weapons. This could be done if he were backed by the best elements in Germany, and these were in frank co-operation with the best elements in this country, as there could be no doubt that their joint efforts would in a very short time have a good result on the relations of the German and the British peoples.

The economic interests of Great Britain and Germany are very closely related. Professor Schulze-Gævernitz has recently¹ discussed this aspect of the subject very fully, and he shows that not only does the interest of Germany lie in the maintenance of the British Empire, but also that Britain is no less concerned in the preservation of Germany. He contends that it is no exaggeration to submit that Germany, which is an industrial State, has great powers of absorption, and, being practically without colonies herself, is peculiarly suited to supplement Great Britain, and he believes that it only needs to dispel the fears that fill the political imagination for the economic problem to regulate itself, and for both countries to know how much greater is their community of interests than their differences. Aggressive commercialism is at the bottom of all the unrest in both countries, and that

¹ *England und Deutschland*, Berlin, 1908.

can never be allayed except by a new way of life, both individual and national, which can be found only in a combination of the ideals of the East and the West, by which the means of life and all that concerns them are subordinated to the ends of life. In a recent interview Count Ernst zu Reventhow, a distinguished retired German naval officer, who has acquired a considerable reputation among his countrymen and abroad by his contributions to this problem in the German Press, stated that "commercial rivalry and jealousy was, to his mind, one of the main causes of the ill-feeling between Great Britain and Germany."¹ Until that cause is removed, both countries will be involved in a vicious circle. Germany considers a strong fleet necessary to guarantee satisfactory relations with Great Britain, while that strong German fleet was a constant source of apprehension to Great Britain.

Notwithstanding the formal treaties she has made, and the professions of good-will and peace which have been made by her representatives, the greatest danger to peace in the Far East will probably come from the aggressive policy of Russia. With her immense resources both in men and in materials, it is not surprising to find that the military and official parties in Russia have threatened a war of revenge, and the fear of that has compelled Japan to take steps which give the impression of an aggressive military spirit, but which are only intended to safeguard her dearly won position, and to make her prepared for any emergency which may arise. The danger on either side does not come from the great body of the people who have to bear the burdens of armaments and of war, but from the bureaucrats and military and naval men who use their positions to gratify their personal ambitions. It is to be hoped that these will be restrained not only by the wills of the peoples of the two countries, but also by the opinion of the civilised world uttered through a representative body which will command respect.

Russia and France have, for a good many years, been

¹ Cf. *Nineteenth Century*, May 1909, p. 731.

on terms of friendship, although that may not have been embodied in a formal treaty or alliance, and all signs of hostility between Great Britain and France have disappeared. Great Britain and Russia are gradually coming to a better understanding on all points on which differences are likely to arise. The internal conditions of Russia make it very difficult for any self-respecting Power to co-operate heartily with her for any object. While these internal conditions can be improved to any great extent only by the people themselves, the opinions of such a representative assembly as an International Parliament would be certain to have great effect. Moreover, the influence of other nations is likely to have more effect on the internal politics of Russia when they are bound to her by friendly ties than when they keep apart in distrustful isolation.

The late Prime Minister of Great Britain, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, was strongly of opinion that it was the special duty of this country to lead the way in the direction of peace, and that opinion is shared by the present Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey. The latter has more than once recently pointed out that the burden of armaments becomes steadily greater and bears more and more heavily on the industry and resources of the nations. He, however, felt that one nation cannot move without the help of the others, and that this is particularly true of Great Britain and her expenditure on her navy. Our fleet, he said, is a defensive force and therefore an essential force, and "should it ever fall to such a point that it is unable to cope with any probable combination brought against it, it will not be merely our prosperity that is at stake, but our very independence and integrity." He said that the necessity for maintaining our armaments was realised by the Government, and that they realised also that "our naval expenditure in particular must remain dependent on the naval expenditure of other countries." He referred to the important naval programme on which the German Government were preparing to embark, and he plainly indicated that while the

scale of our own navy and of our shipbuilding plans were such as might render us "perfectly secure for a year or two more," if our neighbours went on adding to their fleets and enlarging their programmes, we should also have to look forward to increases in place of reductions; so that the task of upholding at once our naval supremacy and our commercial and industrial well-being seems to bring us nearer the time when, to use a striking phrase once employed by Lord Lansdowne, the country may have to make the dread choice between "eating its bread in fear and starving in security."

It must be admitted that present conditions are such as to lead thoughtful men to pessimism. A short time ago Professor Sir William M. Ramsay, who has long taken a deep interest in affairs in the East, said: "It was really difficult to think, when we come to contemplate the present situation in Europe, that there was ever any situation in the world more hateful, more abominable, more devilish than the present state of feeling between the countries of Europe. Europe was split into a series of great armed camps, and the sole safety of any country seemed to lie in its maintaining a colossal army and a colossal navy with the intention of killing the largest number of its neighbours in the shortest space of time and at the longest distance away. He appealed to every one who was reading and thinking of what was going on at the present time, if that was not a perfectly fair and unexaggerated statement of the political situation of Europe to-day. Many who were prescient, and the most skilful judges of the political situation at the present time and the probability of the future, were firmly convinced that there must come that great war for Europe, in which all the nations would, once it began, be inevitably involved. Numbers of the wisest men in our country at the present time were so strongly impressed with that necessity that they were really urging in private and in public, but most of all in private, the duty that there was for our country to take the first step and to go to war—to provoke this great war.

This great war would be the end of the civilisation of Europe in the sense that it would expose Europe, helpless, to the attack of the East." Sir William M. Ramsay dwelt on the great changes which were going on in the Far East, and he pointed out that the Oriental giant was awakening to that struggle between the East and the West, which for several centuries had been a process in which Europe trampled upon Asia and marched its armies with perfect ease over Asia, that that process was coming to an end, and that a new process was beginning. We stood, he said, at the opening of a new era in history. The question now before us was whether that new era was to be one of warfare between the East and the West, or whether it was to be a process of the interchange of religious ideas and the improvement, he ventured to say, the mutual improvement of Asia and Europe. He had sketched to them what had been the issue for centuries of Christianity and Christian history in Europe—the trampling of Europe over Asia. The issue had been the absolute triumph of barbarism and war. We had, he continued, something to learn from Asia, and we had to learn that Christianity had a peaceful side, and that it was not necessary for all Christian nations to be distrustful of one another and in dread of war. This burden of suspicion and distrust was becoming greater than the nations of Europe could bear, and the hope was that in this new era we would change it, and we would change it only if she learned something from the Asiatics. He indicated some of the lessons which might be learned from Asia, and which we have mentioned in some of the preceding pages. Sir Robert Hart, a short time ago, pointed out that the day might come when China, strong and determined to maintain peace, would turn round to the rest of the world and say: "Gentlemen, there must be no more fighting," and she would throw in the force of her arms with the country that was attacked and against the country that made war, and he believed that in that way the millenium would come. We cannot, however, wait for this; the peoples of the various countries of the world must be roused to the

full significance of the mad rivalry in augmenting armaments. In a recent speech Lord Rosebery expressed the wonder whether it will cause a catastrophe in which the working men of the world will say: "We will have no more of this madness, this foolery which is grinding us to powder." The rousing and the enlightening of public opinion on this subject is one of the noblest works to which any man could devote himself.

For very shame the nations of the West should try to come to some rational understanding with regard to armaments. It must be admitted that the terms and conditions of the problem are rapidly altering in the direction of becoming more complex. A "two-Power standard" has been laid down and accepted for many years as "the formula of safety," but in recent years the international conditions have materially changed. A quarter of a century ago it was based mainly on the strength of the French fleet. Then came a period when the combination of the fleets of France and Russia was supposed to furnish the data essential to safety. These factors in the calculation have moved into the background; but, on the other hand, the Navy of Germany has been rushing to the front, and it must be taken into account as a prime factor in estimating probable combinations threatening our naval supremacy and our national safety. Moreover, the view must now be extended beyond the limits of Europe. Japan and the United States have become the possessors of great and growing navies—they are first-class naval Powers. In a recent issue of the *Naval Annual*, the editor, the Hon. T. A. Brassey, says: "If the naval supremacy of the British Empire is to be maintained, if the British Navy is to be kept up to the two-Power standard in face of the powerful navies which are being so rapidly built up in Germany and the United States, the resources of the whole Empire must be combined in the common defence. To further the cause of the Imperial Federation has been the main object of the life of the present writer. That effective steps have to be taken in

this direction is more than ever necessary." The action of some of the Colonies in offering ships to the Royal Navy proves that there is a strong feeling of loyalty to the Mother-country, and their wish to take their share in the responsibility for its defence. In his recent speech in Glasgow, the Prime Minister said that, "If the magnificent offers from the Colonies could be enhanced, they would be by the fine and generous spirit with which these offers had been made on the part of our self-governing Colonies. Nothing," he said, "could have been more gracious, more tactful, or indicate a more generous and patriotic conception of the common obligations of empire than the attitude that those Colonies have taken to us in regard to this matter, and he suggested a conference to concert as to our respective shares in this great and inter-dependent work of the naval defence of the Empire."

An understanding with the Colonies on this subject is very necessary, but it ought to be distinctly recognised that, while the calling in of the resources of the Empire may relieve the burden of the tax-payers in the Mother-country, such a step is not even in the direction of a solution of the problem. On the contrary, it may intensify the race for armaments. The solution is not to be found in crushing the peoples of the world with a load of debt, or in waiting till the half of them are killed in an international struggle, but in an understanding among the Powers and in the cultivation of international friendship among the various countries of the world. That solution involves the economic condition of the countries of Europe relatively to that of the United States of America. The one continent is divided into hostile camps with a great part of the power and energy of each directed to military protection and commercial isolation; the other throws almost all its superabundant energy into industrial progress, although recently it has shown some signs of having caught the fever of Imperialism with its usual symptoms of military and naval development, and these are chiefly the result of aggressive commercialism.

Whether, indeed, the problem of armaments can be solved so long as our Western ideas of trade and industry continue to prevail is the question which ought to receive the most careful consideration. One thing seems evident, and that is, that the first step in the direction of a solution of the problem must be a *rapprochement* between the working classes of all countries, so that they might see that their interests were identical in putting a stop to the enormous expenditure on weapons of destruction. Vast economies on the expenditure on armies and navies will not be effected until the working classes of the great countries of the world combine as one man. The problem, therefore, ultimately resolves itself into one of education in the real sense of that term, and, consequently, of greater intelligence on the part of those who have to bear the burden. As Mr. Winston Churchill recently put it: "If a serious antagonism is gradually created between the two peoples, Germany and Britain, it will not be because of the workings of any natural or impersonal forces, but through the vicious activity of a comparatively small number of individuals in both countries, and the culpable credulity of larger classes. It becomes the first duty of men of light and leading to resist these nightmare moods, to repel numbing and deluded acceptances, and to deny all countenance to that spirit of distrust which without any physical embodiment has already sensibly darkened the outlook of mankind."

In the present conditions of the world disarmament is, of course, impossible, and will remain impossible until a permanent International Government, able to preserve order with a military police force, has been evolved from the Hague Conferences. The only alternative to that seems to be the destruction of civilisation either by a world-wide carnage or by the forces of disorder taking advantage of the developments of science to destroy all governments. As Mr. Stead put it in a recent article: "Should they let hell loose by making war upon each other, heaven itself would rain hell-fire upon the modern cities of the plain. In

sheer self-defence the instinct of self-preservation ought to compel governments to federate into one international world-State with international tribunals interpreting the laws of an International Parliament, whose decisions would be enforced by an executive without whose command appeal to force on earth, or air, or sea would be absolutely forbidden." Meantime, Great Britain should miss no opportunity of showing her non-aggressive policy, and of cultivating the friendship of the other nations of the world. Her most important duty is to see that in international affairs she acts justly according to the standard by which the thinking world now judges. That, however, is not all that is incumbent upon her. Everything should be done to educate public opinion in favour of peace, and that should be brought to bear on the Members of Parliament, and on the governments of the nations of the world. The wise influence of individual monarchs, the pacific inclinations of governments, and the growing conviction among civilised nations that war is a crime, and, therefore, that immense expenditure on armaments is madness, should lead to their rapid reduction. In any further negotiations that are entered into, or treaties that are made, care should be taken that they do not involve even the appearance of hostility to other nations, but, on the contrary, they should be invited to become members of a friendly federation. Confidence on our part of the good faith of other nations would cause them to emulate our example; in short, we should, as a nation, act towards other nations as one gentleman does to another. It is quite evident that it is impossible that civilised democracies should go on indefinitely forming *ententes* and agreements, and loading themselves with burdens which could not be much heavier if their relations with their neighbours were as hostile as they are avowedly friendly. Sooner or later they will realise that it is not enough to cry "Peace," if we are to have it, and they will insist that their respective governments shall no longer allow mutual jealousy and distrust to retard the progress and destroy the happiness of all.

In the past Great Britain has, on many occasions, led the world in progress. Let her at the present time have the courage of her convictions in this momentous problem, the solution of which is perhaps the greatest of all possible reforms ; then as conditions evolve, with the United States of Europe on one side of the globe and the United States of America (including both continents) on the other, and with Japan on the Pacific Ocean to act as reconciler of East and West, not only would the peace of the world be secured, but national prejudices, jealousies, and animosities would disappear, and the highest dreams of humanity be realised.

APPENDIX

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